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Political Affairs

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Kirghiz Supreme Soviet Presidium on Economic, Social Shortcomings
18300085 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 9 Sep 88 p 1

[KirTAG report: "In the Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The work of the Chuyskiy Rayon Soviet of Workers' Deputies on assuring the fulfillment of the plans for economic and social development under conditions of economic accountability and self-financing in accordance with the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference was discussed at a regular session of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

It was noted that the role of the Soviets has become more noteworthy in increasing production effectiveness and in satisfying the wants and needs of the working people. Organizational work of the Soviets promoted fulfillment of the plans for 1987 and the first half of 1988 on realization of industrial production, on growth of labor productivity, and on purchases of the basic types of agricultural products.

At the same time the level of work of the local Soviets in the rayon on supervision of economic and socio-cultural construction does not fully meet contemporary demands. The laws on the state enterprise and on cooperation have not yet found complete practical use on the farms in the rayon. Certain of them are not coping with the plan for production and sale of agricultural products. Animal productivity is still low, the number of cattle is declining, and cattle plague is spreading. All of this is having a negative effect on the financial situation of the farms.

The housing problem remains critical. Of ten projects whose introduction was planned for 1988, work is being carried out on only one. There are many shortcomings in the sphere of trade, and in municipal and domestic services to the public.

Measures for fundamental improvement of medical services to the public are not being implemented. For two and one-half years, not one single medical establishment has been built in the rayon, and many of the existing ones are situated in unsuitable accommodations or in emergency buildings.

The decree adopted by the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium required the ispolkom of the Chuyskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies to take concrete measures to ensure the fulfillment of the plans for economic and social development; for eliminating the shortcomings in solving the Food Program, and for transferring the economy to the new economic conditions.

The question of instances of gross violation of certain norms for compensatory legislation and social services in Toktogulskiy Rayon of Tallas Oblast were discussed at the session.

It was noted that the ispolkom of the rayon Soviet tried to dodge responsibility for controlling the fulfillment of compensatory legislation, forgetting about the importance of moral stimulus in conditions of perestroyka.

Pension legislation is being violated in the rayon, and the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, "On the Work Practice of Soviet and Economic Organs and Working Collectives on Awarding Workers the 'Labor Veteran' Medal" is being implemented poorly.

The Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a decree which envisages eliminating the shortcomings which exist in the rayon and increasing the personal responsibility of the leaders of the ispolkoms of local Soviets.

The Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has obligated Gosagroprom and the Kirghiz SSR State Committee on Labor and Social Security to establish strict control over fulfillment of compensatory legislation.

During examination of the question of the pace of fulfillment of the decree of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 28 July 1987, "On the State of Carrying out Legislation on the Struggle with Narcotics Addiction in Issyk-Kulskiy and Tyupskiy Rayons of Issyk-Kul Oblast," attention was called to the fact that the work of the coordinating Soviets, the administrative commissions and the law-enforcement organs lacks a comprehensive prevention and warning program, and that the problem of narcotics addiction in the rayon remains severe.

It was decided that the reports of the ispolkom chairmen of the Issyk-Kulskiy and Tyupskiy Rayon Soviets shall be examined at the session of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in July 1989.

Other questions on state life in the republic were examined as well.

Taking part in the work of the session was Kirghiz CP Central Committee First Secretary A.M. Masaliyev.

Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman T. Akmatov conducted the session.

Resolutions of 10th Kirghiz CP Central Committee Plenum
18300087 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 5 Oct 88 p 1

[Resolution of 10th Kirghiz CP Central Committee Plenum of 24 September 1988: "On the Course of Carrying Out the Food Program and Measures for Improving the Supply of Foodstuffs to the Populace of the Republic in the Light of the Requirements of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] 1. The Kirghiz CP Central Committee Plenum notes that the republic's party, soviet and economic

organs, carrying out the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress, the subsequent CPSU Central Committee Plenums, and the 18th Kirghiz CP Congress, have accomplished a certain amount of work on practical realization of the Food Program.

Rural party organizations have stepped up their activities. The scale of use of economic methods of management has expanded. The prerequisites have been established for raising the labor activeness of workers, kolkhoz members, and specialists. Gross agricultural production for the two years of the 12th Five Year Plan has increased by 11 percent in comparison with the preceding one, and labor productivity has increased by 9 percent. Production profits have increased, and the number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes operating at a loss has declined.

The material-technical base and the social infrastructure of the APK have been beefed up. Plans for sale to the state of basic types of agricultural products for food purposes have been fulfilled and they have been supplied to the national fund. Progress has occurred in increasing the yield of field crops and animal products, and in the per-capita consumption of foodstuffs.

At the same time the Plenum believes that the level of party supervision of the agro-industrial complex does not correspond with the instructions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The republic was justifiably subjected to criticism at the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum for the low yield on capital investments in agriculture.

The state of the food supply and growth rates in output of agricultural products, especially meat and dairy and vegetable products, do not satisfy the growing demands of the populace. The level of per-capita consumption of foodstuffs is significantly behind the rational norms.

The buro and the secretariat of the Central Committee and the party obkoms have not taken exhaustive measures to make use of existing possibilities for increasing the effectiveness of agricultural production, nor for increasing the role and specific responsibility in this of the party raykoms and rayon ispolkoms and that of the committees of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, enterprises, and all the leading cadres in the APK system.

Many party, soviet and economic administrators have not disposed of administrative-command methods in their work. The system of administration of the agro-industrial complex which has taken shape is slowing down the implementation of radical economic reforms. They have been unable to achieve the necessary pace and scale in placing the APK collectives on a cost-accounting basis, and for transition to collective and lease contracts. There has not yet been any yield from the economic training of the agricultural workers. Most of the supervisors and specialists on the kolkhozes, sovkhozes and enterprises have a poor grasp of economic methods of

management, and they are not sufficiently enterprising in the search for reserves for the growth of production of food goods. Nor are the branch scientific-research institutions, VUZes and the republic Academy of Sciences taking their proper part in the solution of these problems.

As a result, in certain rayons and oblasts, production of agricultural products is not growing. Non-fulfillment of plans and large losses of animals have been permitted in Dzhungalskiy Rayon. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Toguz-Torouskiy Rayon are in a deep economic crisis. Animal husbandry in Sovetskiy and Toktogulskiy Rayons is being developed on an extensive basis. The potential capabilities for increasing meat production are not being realized in the proper manner in Naryn Oblast, nor for milk in Issyk-Kul Oblast and Panfilovskiy Rayon.

The favorable natural conditions are not being effectively utilized in Osh and Issyk-Kul Oblasts, nor in the rayons of the Chuyskaya Valley, for increasing production of vegetable and melon crops, fruits and viticulture. Practically all regions, with the exception of the Issyk-Kul zone, import a large amount of potatoes every year.

The state of technical equipment in the processing branch remains at a low level. The republic's industrial enterprises are not being enlisted to re-equip it. The struggle with losses, for complete preservation, and for high-quality processing of the harvest and farm products has not yet become the cause for each and every one. Poor use is being made of the capabilities of the private subsidiary farms of the populace, of collective gardening, and of the subsidiary farms of enterprises and organizations. Greenhouse and hothouse farming is developing poorly. And the reserves of nut and fruit-bearing forests are not being fully utilized.

Questions of housing construction and medical, municipal, domestic and cultural services to the public are being resolved slowly in the rural areas. Only one in ten apartments here have hot water and plumbing; more than half the villages do not have water mains; and more than a third do not have kindergartens or nurseries.

2. The Central Committee Plenum approves the proposal of the collectives of the kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing enterprises, consumers' cooperatives, and local Soviets, which us supported by the primary party organizations and the party raykoms and obkoms, on increasing production of agricultural products, and improving its processing, storage and sales.

The Central Committee Buro, the party committees, and communist-supervisors of Soviet and economic organs and social organizations must focus their main efforts on organizational and mass-political work for unconditional fulfillment of the plans within the bounds proposed, and for more effective use of the existing natural and economic potential of the agro-industrial complex.

3. The Central Committee Buro, the party obkoms and raykoms, and the primary party organizations must make fundamental improvements in the work with the cadres of the APK. They must, on a democratic basis, promote to the leadership of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, enterprises and their subelements, people who are competent and enterprising workers; confirmed adherents to perestroyka, who enjoy prestige among communists and non-party workers alike. Purposeful and persistent work must be maintained with the cadre reserves. Communist-supervisors of the republic Gosagroprom, the Kirgizselkhozinstut, and the Higher School for Management of the APK, must steadfastly improve the training, retaining and probationary periods of the supervisors and specialists.

Questions of training cadres in the mass professions demand serious attention. Greater concern should be shown toward increasing their skills and qualifications, and toward creating the conditions for highly-productive work and a healthy way of life. Where necessary the party and Komsomol stratum of production units must be strengthened. Strive to achieve a situation in which everyone contributes to the work and increases production output.

4. The Plenum demands of the communist-administrators of the Council of Ministers, the republic Gosagroprom, and oblast, city and rayon ispolkoms, that they energize the work of the food commissions in the oblasts, cities and rayons. They must steadfastly and purposefully strive to achieve depth and breadth in intensive methods of conducting field-crop cultivation and animal husbandry.

Raise the scientific level of organization for feeding and fattening of animals, for utilizing land and water resources, and for creating a feed base for domestic cattle. Stipulate the necessary measures for improving horse breeding and for raising fish in ponds.

Take measures to provide potatoes to the public in the coming years by means of our own production in Osh Oblast and the Talasskaya Valley. Strive to achieve complete and guaranteed satisfaction of needs for high-quality vegetables and melon crops, fruits and grapes. Expand gardening in Issyk-Kul Oblast, and viticulture in Osh Oblast and in the Chuyskaya Valley. Take greater advantage of the potential possibilities of nut and fruit-bearing trees in the forest. Increase the responsibility of the administrators of Soviet and economic organs for rational use of natural resources and for protection of the environment.

5. The Central Committee Plenum—attributing great significance in the solution of the food problem to increasing the role of private subsidiary farms of the populace; to collective orchards and vegetable gardens; and to subsidiary farms of enterprises, organizations and consumer cooperatives—calls the attention of communist-administrators and the party organizations of the

Council of Ministers, the republic Gosagroprom, oblast, city and rayon ispolkoms, to the inadmissibility of red tape and bureaucratic methods in deciding questions of allotting lands for garden plots, vegetable gardens and subsidiary farms of enterprises and organizations, and to satisfying the needs of the populace for the young of animals and for feed for them. Party organizations of industrial enterprises, transportation and communications must increase control over effective use of the allocated lands. They must take fuller advantage of the capabilities of enterprises in the city of Frunze for building storage facilities in the capital for fruit and vegetable products, and refrigerators for meat and dairy products.

Leading officials of the Council of Ministers and Kirghiz Union of Consumer Cooperatives must guarantee fundamental restructuring of the system of procuring surplus agricultural products from the populace. Reception points must be established in every village; in every rural rayon storage facilities must be built for the consumer cooperatives, with refrigeration facilities; and interfarm shops and enterprises for food processing.

6. The Central Committee Plenum invites the special attention of the communist-administrators of Gosagroprom, Gosstroy, and the republic Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, and Kirghiz Main Administration for Water Resources Construction in the republic to the necessity for construction of specialized swine complexes and broiler poultry plants in the republic; to the need for increasing the rate of re-equipping the food and food-processing industries; to comprehensive analysis of questions of locating new enterprises; to improving land-reclamation construction; to increasing the fertility of soils, and to automation of irrigation systems. The needs of the rural population must be more fully satisfied in terms of housing, schools, and preschool, medical and cultural-educational institutions. The subsidiary enterprises of kolkhozes and sovkhozes must be developed for production of building materials and consumer goods.

In solving the housing problem in the villages, make active use of the personal savings of the populace, and take advantage of the capabilities of housing-construction cooperatives. Satisfy more fully the needs of the workers for plots of land, and materials for individual construction.

7. The Central Committee Plenum considers the transition to predominately economic methods of administration a task of paramount importance.

Party committees, the Council of Ministers, the republic Gosagroprom, and oblast, city and rayon ispolkoms must thoroughly and critically analyze the state of affairs with respect to assimilating cost-accounting, contractual and lease relationships in every working collective. Conduct a more purposeful policy for expanding the independence of farms and enterprises; implement concrete

measures to prepare them for transition, next year, to complete economic accountability and self-financing. Complete the restructuring of the system of administration of the agro-industrial complex in 1989, and above all on the rayon level. Establish agro-combines, agro-firms and scientific-production systems.

8. The party committees and party buro of primary party organizations on kolkhozes and sovkhozes must ensure the active work of all shop party organizations, party groups and party organizers on animal-raising farms and in field crop brigades. Every party organization must define the priority directions for solving the Food Program and must head up the work for its practical realization.

The ideological work of party organizations must be directed toward inculcating in the workers a conscientious, creative attitude toward work, and a high level of culture and morality.

Trade-union and Komsomol organizations must steadfastly and purposefully participate in the social restructuring of the countryside, in creating for the rural workers the proper production and socio-domestic conditions; and in transition of the collectives of brigades, farms and shops to progressive forms of organizing work and providing work incentives.

9. The editors of republic and local newspapers, and radio and TV, must systematically publicize the work of the party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations and soviet and economic organs, on accelerating the development of the agro-industrial complex. Principal attention must be devoted to summarizing and propagating progressive experience, especially in the matter of transition to economic methods of work and scientific conduct of animal husbandry and feed production, as well as exposing shortcomings and neglect in this matter, illustrating how the Food Program is in fact being implemented, and how the paramount task of the party—fully supplying the populace with high-quality food products—is being resolved.

LaSSR Minister Discusses Influences of Popular Front on Republic

18000135a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
18 Oct 88 pp 1, 3

[Interview with V. G. Bresis: "These Difficult Growth Stages"]

[Text] After the 9th Session of the republic's Supreme Soviet, which considered one of the strategic questions of perestroika, a constituent congress was conducted for the Popular Front of Latvia, which had been created to support perestroika and the line of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. That congress shook up the public consciousness and demonstrated the people's desire to

know the truth in all its ramifications. The fundamental problems of our country and our republic were brought out for public discussion. But discussion at the top of one's voice is not yet the same thing as practical steps in the social and economic spheres.

Therefore a Latinform correspondent asked Vilnis Gedertovich Bresis, who was recently appointed chairman of LaSSR Council of Ministers, to respond to a number of vitally important questions, the resolution of which lies within his competency.

[Correspondent] Vilnis Gedertovich, your assuming the position of chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers coincides in time with the origin of the Popular Front of Latvia (NFL). To what degree will the creation of the NFL exert an influence upon the work of the republic's government and your work personally?

[Bresis] To supplement what was stated at the 10 October press conference, I want to emphasize that I view the Popular Front of Latvia as an institution of constructive interaction with the party and with the republic's government in supporting perestroika. It is one of the forms of real sovereignty of the people, a form that is capable of actively opposing any forms of crudely administrative, command-type management of public life.

I support the line of the Popular Front that is aimed at increasing the rate of activity in the renovation of society, at intensifying the public's monitoring of the activity of the state apparatus, to the degree that it does not pose as its goal any actions in the role of the opposition, supports the idea of the introduction of republic-level cost accountability, and shares the government's concern about ecological problems and excessive migration into the republic. I assume that the Popular Front, by contributing to the implementation of the will of the people through its elected soviet agencies, is also capable of warning them about errors on the untridden path of perestroika and in increasingly complicated social life.

I am also aware of the fact that, in the development of the public movement, undesirable extremes are also possible. I assume that certain statements made at the constituent congress of the NFL provide convincing proof of the correctness of my words. The excessive fascination for the sore spots in the national policy can retard the achievement of the sociopolitical goals of perestroika and will in no way contribute to the mutual consolidation of all nations as an indispensable condition for the survival of mankind.

In other words, if one views the Popular Front as an institution of counteraction, rather than an institution of constructive interaction with the party and with the republic's government, then this nullifies the price of the considerable efforts that have already been undertaken to develop democracy and socialist pluralism.

[Correspondent] What is your attitude in this regard to those statements at the constituent congress of the NFL in which the speakers expressed criticism directed at SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA newspaper?

[Bresis] The boundaries of the question can probably be expanded. The republic's Council of Ministers received a letter signed by Ya. Baltvilks, an authorized representative of the support group of the Popular Front at the Union of Latvian Writers. The author of the letter, speaking in the name of writers, calls a number of the items that were printed in SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA "extremist writings that sow suspiciousness and enmity."

I read published items that were mentioned in the letter as allegedly being permeated with antinational feelings, including V. Ilin's article. But Resolution No. 2 concerning the Popular Front of Latvia and the mass information media recognizes the right, with the aid of the mass information media, under conditions of democratism and socialist pluralism, to express one's views freely. So what is the point of the question? In the information sphere and in discussions, the qualities that are victorious are not the strength of one's expressions, but the well-argumented nature of the statement and the speaker's ethics, including the high ethics of national relations.

[Correspondent] After the press published the draft version of the Concept for the Economic and Social Development of Latvian SSR During the Period Until the Year 2005, it was repeatedly subjected to criticism. That criticism was also heard from the rostrum of the constituent congress of the Popular Front of Latvia. Will the content and the directedness of this important document change now?

[Bresis] Yes, the republic's population has shown justified interest in the draft of the Concept. Labor collectives and citizens have sent Gosplan more than 60 letters with specific recommendations and comments. Most frequently one hears expressions of concern about the hypertrophied development of the republic's industry and about ecological questions. The writers propose channeling more funds into the development of the agroindustrial branches and the social sphere in rural areas. They pose the question of the sharp reduction of migration into the republic. On the whole, the Concept draft that was published in August for discussion is viewed as a document that is restrained in the spirit of the traditions of the period of stagnation.

Meaningful recommendations were sent by collectives at the Latvian Agricultural Academy, the board of governors of DaugavaGESstroy, the Alfa Association, Blidene Sovkhoz, and others. They were all studied and systematized, and on their basis a new draft was developed for the concept of the economic and social development of Latvian SSR for the period until the year 2005.

[Correspondent] Vilnis Gedertovich, the agricultural complex has received priority development in the republic. How is this expressed concretely?

[Bresis] That is a very broad topic. Inasmuch as the question of the sharp improvement in providing food products to the population was formulated at the 19th Party Conference and the July Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee formulated as a fundamental sociopolitical question, it is obvious that a more detailed explanation is not required. For example, I link with the priority development of agriculture the appointment of me—a former chairman of the republic's Gosagroprom—as chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers.

Possibly today, under conditions of the rapidly changing situation, not everyone knows yet how to do this, but everyone is obliged to be completely aware that it is necessary first of all to feed the nation. Everyone will judge perestroika on the basis of the abundance in his own home. Therefore, if the system of management that has developed continues to force the peasant to work as he has worked previously, we shall not achieve our goal. It is necessary radically and rapidly to change the management system itself on the land.

I shall not dwell in great detail on this question, since it is a topic for separate serious discussion. However, I must say a few words about the rental and family contract. For their complete development, there currently are being established in a legislative procedure the legal relations for transferring land to individual renters for use for an unspecified period of time and with the right to transmit it to heirs.

The republic's Council of Ministers has enacted a decree governing peasant farms. The rayon ispolkoms have been given the right to offer citizens, in response to their applications, plots of land from land in the state reserve, the state timber fund, and kolkhoz and sovkhoz land for the purpose of creating peasant farms. Those plots of land are provided for use during an unspecified period of time, with the formalization of a state document granting the right to use the land.

The owners of peasant farms have been granted the right to open accounts in the appropriate bank departments and to receive credit, and also to receive, on a contract basis, from enterprises buildings, machinery, and equipment for a specified or an unspecified period of time, and to purchase tractors, trucks, mineral fertilizers, young livestock, and varietal seeds.

It is hoped that many former rural inhabitants, as well as city dwellers, will change over to work in rural areas. They need housing that has been provided with all the amenities, good social and cultural conditions, and a complete set of other services.

Consequently, the first and chief factor is the development of construction and the construction industry for rural areas. Therefore, in execution of the decree of the 9th Session of LaSSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, dated 6 October 1988, the Council of Ministers has already given the republic's Gossnab the responsibility,

within a 10-day period, of additionally allocating to Gosagroprom at the expense of other consumers 15,000 tons of cement, 13 million standard slabs of slate, 120,000 square meters of linoleum, 5000 tons of rolled ferrous metal, and 3000 tons of steel pipes.

If one looks more broadly at the priority of the agroindustrial complex, at the present time the republic's Council of Ministers is completely the consideration of the recommendations and comments concerning the drafts of a number of decrees that were submitted to the deputies at the 9th Session of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation.

They include the joint decree of the republic's Council of Ministers and USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building concerning measures to develop regional agricultural machine building; and decrees concerning the urgent steps to build up the capacities of the material-technical base of the construction complex in 1989-1990 and 1991-1995, concerning the accelerated development of the social infrastructure and housing construction in the agroindustrial complex, and concerning the development of the road network in agriculture.

Work is also coming to an end on the draft version of the decree of the republic's Council of Ministers concerning the shared participation of industrial enterprises in reinforcing the material-technical base of the processing branches of industry and concerning the increase in the role and responsibility of the rayon ispolkoms in procuring agricultural output and in improving the way in which the public is provided with food products.

[Correspondent] But good decrees were also enacted previously, and they either were not fulfilled at all or were fulfilled poorly, and the guilty individuals did not bear any responsibility.

[Bresis] From time to time we continue today to encounter lack of understanding, formalism, conservatism, and political shortsightedness in managers and specialists. People do not get cured of these faults in a single day. Therein lies the chief reason for the periodic alternation of successes and failures in perestroyka. People continue to remember strongly the previous unsuccessful attempts to improve the administration of the economy. But the path from shortage to abundance, both in industry and in agriculture, is a difficult and steep one. And in order to overcome it more rapid, it is necessary for us first of all to reject everywhere a policy of indiscriminate equalization.

One enterprise must not live like a vampire, by profiting from another one. An able-bodied worker or peasant must receive as much money as he has earned, rather than the amount that was "touched up" for him in the payroll because of a fear of losing a pair of working hands that are extra in the literal sense of the word. If there is no indiscriminate equalization in the payment of labor,

then there will also be no depersonalization of responsibility. Responsibility for one's deeds, as the expression goes, must be only personal. And, essentially speaking, complete cost accountability is a good examiner. The level of responsibility has greatly risen currently, and the assigned tempo is rigid. The growth stages have become difficult.

I would define the chief factor in this way: we are changing over from disconnected, individual measures to a comprehensive, integrated system of economic administration of the branches. We are using economic methods to wage an offensive on the entire front. And it is here that a considerable impetus has been provided by the reform of the political system, the democratization of society, and glasnost, as well as the activity rate and decisiveness of the Popular Front of Latvia, which arose as a movement to support perestroyka.

[Correspondent] Vilnis Gedertovich, the NFL constituent congress has considered the draft of a resolution concerning the limitation of immigration. What is your attitude toward this?

[Bresis] If one may answer in general, I would say positive. However, the very word "immigrant" is not very suitable for our conditions.

The text of the draft version of a decree by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia LaSSR Council of Ministers, and LRSPS [Latvian Republic Council of Trade Unions] concerning ways to stop the mechanical increase in the republic's population is being prepared for publication for purposes of discussion. Thus, any citizen will be able to express his comments and recommendations. I would like only to note that all the indigenous inhabitants of the republic have an equal self-interest in stopping the mechanical increase in the population and the measures that are linked with it. They all, regardless of their nationality, have equal civil and political rights.

The unsubstantiated influx of population into the republic for permanent residence, naturally, leads to an aggravation of the shortage for a number of commodities and services, lengthens the list of people waiting to improve their housing conditions, and causes justified recriminations on the part of the inhabitants of Latvia.

The republic's government is currently considering and resolving other questions that are aimed at increasing the population's real income. In particular, for purposes of using for the purposes intended the funds of food commodities that have been stipulated for satisfying the needs of the republic's population, consideration is being made of the question of temporarily discontinuing the shipments of food products outside the confines of the republic. The only exception would be made for those shipments that are intended for military personnel in a compulsory term of service.

These and other measures are aimed at accelerating the rise in the population's real income. For the time being, the tendency toward the slowing down of the growth rates for this indicator is being observed in all the Baltic republics.

[Correspondent] Ought one not to conclude from everything that has been said that the farther it goes, the more the fate of perestroika depends upon all of us and upon each of us individually?

[Bresis] You have answered your own question. However, I feel it necessary to add that the time has been long overdue to change over from words to deeds. Complete cost accountability and self-financing are the cardinal breaking away from what has existed for decades. What we need here is competency and boldness, so that in the process of breaking away, so to speak, we do not cause any breakage...

We are looking in a new way at cooperative action, the contract, and the lease. But in a number of instances we

have only been looking, rather than acting. But cooperative action, in the broadest sense of the word, is the most flexible form of achieving high effectiveness, when both the collective and every worker can be the real owner. In addition, the cooperative system possesses one differentiating peculiarity—it destroys the monopoly of the state economy and creates conditions for struggle for the consumer.

According to estimates made by USSR Gosplan specialists, in the foreseeable future the percent of the cooperative system, for example, in the production of commodities and services may grow to 15-16 percent.

You might recall that the resolution enacted by the party conference contains the sentence, "The economy is continuing largely its movement along the extensive path." In order to get rid of this, we have begun reforms also in the political system. But nevertheless the chief link in all this has been, and continues to be, man. He must know how to say his word and know how to convert that word into deed.

CPSU CC Passes Resolution on Improving Record Firm 'Melodiya'

18000074 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 13 Sep 88 p 1

[Unattributed report entitled: "In the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee adopted a resolution "On Measures for Improving the Work at the All-Union Record Firm Melodiya."

The resolution notes that under modern conditions the role of sound records as a method of preserving the people's artistic memory, the mass circulation of musical and literary works, public and political and scientific knowledge, the workers' ideological-aesthetic education, and the organization of their free time, has immeasurably increased.

During recent years, a series of measures directed toward enriching the record stock, and improving their content quality and production, were realized. However, these measures have not led to cardinal changes in the activities of the firm Melodiya. Quite often, the necessary exactingness in the record repertoire and performers' selection, sequence in the propaganda of classical, folk, and Soviet art, and timeliness in issuing new musical works, are not shown. The policy concerning the number of issued copies is implemented incorrectly. The enterprises of the firm continuously increase production of expensive popular music records at the expense of symphonic, opera, choral, folk, children's, and educational records. The situation is made more difficult due to the emergence of all kinds of recording studios and cooperatives copying musical programs, the contents of which are not controlled by anyone.

Renovation and technical modernization of the firm's enterprises and their transfer to types of products with good commercial potential are carried out slowly. The quality of records and cassettes causes complaints.

Records are insufficiently actively used in the work of cultural-educational organizations and educational institutions; in the Party, Komsomol, and labor union education system; as well as in the organization of the population's rest.

It is recommended to the Party bodies to assure a more efficient use of records in the ideological-aesthetic, moral, patriotic, and international education of workers; to more deeply involve in this work the Soviets of people's deputies and their local branches, the mass information media, and trade organizations; and to increase the role of the primary Party organizations of the enterprises and institutions of the firm Melodiya in improving the production activities of the working collectives.

The USSR Ministry of Culture together with interested departments and public organizations are instructed to take measures directed toward improving the content and quality of records and cassettes, to increase demands toward the selection of works and performers to be recorded, to change radically the repertoire and number of copies policy in the direction of increasing the publication of patriotic, highly ideological, and really artistic symphonic, opera, choral, literary, folk music, sociopolitical, children's, and educational records. They have been tasked with increasing their attention toward the selection and preparation of highly qualified and politically mature specialists for the enterprises and institutions of the firm Melodiya.

In order to assure the stable production of a sufficient number of records of high social significance, it was found to be necessary to place a State order for these products equal to 40 percent of this commodity's marketable stock volume.

The Central Committee supported a proposal of the USSR Ministry of Culture to grant the All-Union record firm Melodiya the right to independently enter foreign markets.

The issues connected with the further improvement in planning the activities of All-Union record firm Melodiya, strengthening its economic and technical base, pricing of records, their sales, widening the network of brand and specialized stores, regulating remuneration of authors and performers, and improving social and living conditions for the firm's workers, will be discussed by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Songwriter Galich's Rehabilitation Detailed
*18120023 Moscow NEW TIMES in English
No 43 Oct 88 p 48*

[Article by Nina Kreitner entitled: "Galich Returns"]

[Text] Even a year ago it would have been hard to imagine that Alexander Galich's 70th birthday would be celebrated with full ceremony at the House of Men of Letters, that TV—Leningrad, Moscow and central—would speak quietly of his work and fate, that his poetry and prose would be published, and that articles would be written about him. Melodia has already prepared three records of his songs and poetry, work has started on three documentary films about him, and only the other day the first Soviet record of Galich's work appeared—true, a plastic one, as a supplement to the magazine Krugozor (No 10), but on it the poem "The Outcome" and the song "Once Again about the Devil" are by Galich himself.

In the documentary made in Norway by Rafael Goldin there is an episode showing Galich on an Oslo street, and then stopping outside a shopwindow displaying his first record. And Galich says: "For a moment I shut my eyes and saw Kalinin Prospekt and myself approaching the Melodia ship and seeing my record..."

In the offing are new publications, and books are being prepared for printing. On May 12 the Secretariat of the Union of Soviet Cinema Workers revoked its previous decision expelling Galich from the union. It was an easy and happy opportunity to do good: people made a clean breast of their guilt feeling, which in fact was not theirs, for the leadership of the union is now made up of new people. "We are restoring justice," Andrei Smirnov, who presided over the Secretariat's meeting, told the press.

The announcement that Galich had been reinstated in the Union of Soviet Writers is a horse of another color, for the decision had been taken unanimously by almost the very people who had kicked him out even of the Writers' Foundation, leaving him without any means of support. His fellow writers had voluntarily helped send Galich to the point of no return, as expulsion then seemed.

The former accusations that his ideology was "alien" have been given the lie by his poetry, which is now available to the whole country. He did not want to leave. He was in effect deported. The October issue of the magazine Sovetskaya Biografiya published the open letter Galich wrote in 1972, which naturally never saw the light at the time, in which he said that he was being expelled "for my songs, which I sang openly." People who accused Galich (as before him they had accused Akhmatova, Zoshchenko, Pasternak, Sinyavsky and

Daniel, and then Brodsky and others) of having an "alien ideology" were in effect not at all interested in any ideology, but had merely advanced in closed ranks on the poet.

That Galich had deeply loved his country was spoken off by Evgeny Yevtushenko at a gathering at the Union of Soviet Architects. That is also evident from the numerous interviews Galich gave (starting with the first one at the foot of the aircraft in which he had arrived in Vienna: he spoke not of his troubles, but about Russian and Soviet poetry), and from his regular programmes on poetry, which are now regarded eligible for Soviet radio unexpurgated.

All his former crimes have now become virtues: his long-standing friendship with Andrei Sakharov and many other things... In his open letter Galich had written: "My literary rights have been taken away from me, but my duties remain—to write songs and sign them."

It seems to me that our duty today—our duty to Galich, to ourselves, our country and the entire civilized world—is to say everything, leaving nothing unsaid. To say that in the so-called period of stagnation different people left the Soviet Union, but "the honor" of being expelled, of being reduced to despair and forced to leave, often befell the best, the most talented and honest, those who had adopted Heine's formula of the poet's heart rent by the crack that rends the world.

Higher Social Development Linked to Increase in Consumer Goods

18200059 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Sep 88 pp 2-3

[Interview with Natalya Mikhaylovna Rimashevskaya, doctor of economic sciences and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute for Social and Economic Population Problems, by S. Panasenko; date and place not given; first paragraph is SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] What is the attractive force of restructuring? Many people do not conceal the fact that hopes for a noticeably improved life brought them to its ranks. These hopes strengthened after the 19th party conference which confirmed the need for strengthening the economy's social direction. It is now necessary to implement what was planned. To do this, it is necessary to picture accurately the complicated set of questions contained in the concept "to live better." Here is what N. Rimashevskaya, doctor of economic sciences and the director of the recently established USSR Academy of Sciences Institute for Social and Economic Population Problems, says:

[N. Rimashevskaya] The majority of people, including those occupying responsible positions, connect the notion of prosperity with being materially well off. In fact, the concept is much broader. At the very least, it is divided into three component groups reflecting our interests.

The first of them—it can be called "standard of living"—actually includes such indicators of human existence as income, housing, and the availability of different goods and services. The second one—"life style"—is connected with a person's craving for an education, the growth of creative principles and initiative in the work being performed, and active rest. Finally, the third group—"quality of life"—reflects one's interest in culture and politics and one's participation in management and the solving of important, even state, questions touching upon, for example, ecology.

Of course, this division is an arbitrary one: There are no strict boundaries between the groups. One and the same component can describe, for example, both one's standard of living and one's life style. The components do not have any permanent importance or significance. For example, if an individual is poor and his main concern is to feed and provide shoes and clothing for his family, then the concept of "living better" will—in practically all probability—be connected with an opportunity to earn more money. He will display interest in education or, for example, in political questions only to the degree to which they can help him solve his material problems. In other words, without having laid a foundation—without having raised the standard of living—it is difficult to consider improving life style and, even more, increasing its quality

[S. Panasenko] Nevertheless, there are opposite examples in our history. One still finds people who maintain that those, who avoided the waves of repression, lived better in the Thirties than now. They say: "Our life was modest but we had enthusiasm, faith in a bright future,"

[N. Rimashevskaya] Of course, it is possible for an individual to suggest that the poverty of life is nonsense. Under the conditions of isolation and fear and after the terrible famine that was endured, the artificial transfer of the people's interests from the land component of the standard of living to the high subject of its quality does not require any special work. Sooner or later, however, the day of reckoning comes for the attempt to construct a building on sand.

They say that our victory in the war was a dangerous problem for Stalin: Thousands of soldiers and officers, who had been abroad, saw with their own eyes that living conditions under capitalism were not as our propaganda had depicted. I will say even more: Having shut ourselves off from the entire world and having deprived the new generations of entire layers of domestic and world culture, passing what was desired for what was real, we had already laid the "base" for the years of stagnation then—during the Thirties.

Possibly that is why it is still difficult for us to get used to the thought that the wider the circle of the people's demands is, the higher is the level of society's development. Under the conditions of a chronic shortage of not only clothing and food but also of seats in movie theaters, the idea that the main indicator of prosperity is the satisfaction of demands has become firmly strengthened in our consciousness. In this regard, we forget that the latter can be artificially narrowed to a degree that can be easily satisfied. The individual himself, if he lives with difficulty from payday to payday, will hardly display an interest in trips. On the contrary, a wide range of interests in an individual is usually evidence that his primary demands have already been satisfied.

Of course, we are talking about demands in a broad and not in a purely "manufactured goods" understanding of that word. The broader the gamut of requirements and the fuller it "covers" all three groups of the components of prosperity, the better an individual will live. All of us must understand this. It is finally time to put aside the far-fetched bug-a-boo of consumerism. For decades, they have instilled in us the idea that it is shameful to want something. They have even thought up a name—"materialism"—as if to consume is not the only condition of an individual and not his only requirement!

Yes, the requirement to consume. There is such a thing! One should not confuse it with acquisitiveness and the unrestrained desire to "store" at home everything that

represents something valuable. It is also the result of a shortage. It is known that objects of daily demand long ago "fell" from the focus of an individual's main interests in developed countries.

[S. Panasenko] As far as I remember, Natalya Mikhaylovna, you are against limiting demands. However, will it not turn out that they will begin to grow like an avalanche? And the state will never be able to satisfy them.

[N. Rimashevskaya] When all demands are satisfied, society ceases to develop and dies. We, however, are far from that point. Concerning an avalanche ... the main source for the origination of demands is information about the surrounding world. An individual cannot desire something whose existence he does not suspect. It is another matter if he knows that a popular writer has published a new novel or that somewhere they have begun to produce a device that permits a picture to be recorded and reproduced on a television screen. The individual says: "I want it!" Thus, a new demand arises.

This distinctive feature in the demand origination mechanism creates the illusion that the problem of prosperity can be solved in a simple and seemingly effective manner—dam the information channels. With no information—it is possible to convince people that having shoes and trousers is a blessing. However, immediately after limiting demands, stagnation in the economy and culture inevitably arrive as the day follows night. Deprived of an increase in demands, the people are also deprived of incentives to earn and to work.

Unfortunately, the ideologists of voluntary barracks-like uniformity have not come to an end today. Under the flag of economic benefits—in the spirit of the times!—they have been called upon to reduce the number of refrigerator types or automobile models to a minimum. They see the main advantage of a planned economic system to be the total unification of everything. They do not want to understand that the desire to have something better than what already exists or to visit somewhere one has never been is one of the main motivating forces for development. That is why living better means to have broad opportunities for selecting. The democratization of the economy is also the expansion of selection in the good things of life. It is in this case that an individual receives, in addition, proof that he has not worked in vain and is convinced by his own eyes that his tastes are finally expanding. Having refused him this, we also strike the economy. I repeat, only the best—the enemy of the good—can force an individual to buy continuously.

There is another danger here. The higher the "rank" of demands is and the further they are from purely material concerns, the more serious are the consequences of limited selection—for both the individual and for society. One type of bread in a bakeshop or one style of shoe on a counter is an annoying nuisance. However, three films for rent or three publishing writers—this is a catastrophe.

[S. Panasenko] You think that information must insure a steady growth in demand and a desire to satisfy it. However, the trouble is that the thirst for it in many people, especially the young, boils down at times to the opportunity to leaf through a fashion magazine from Paris or a catalogue from a Geneva car dealer....

[N. Rimashevskaya] We do not say for no reason that man does not live by bread alone. Accordingly, we need different information—from a knowledge of the ecological situation in a city to information about the substance of draft laws being prepared. In a word, we need glasnost which people rate as one of the real achievements of restructuring. We need democracy based on a broad knowledge of our rights and responsibilities to society. That is why living better means to live in a legal state where everyone can express his opinion without fearing persecution and where a mechanism exists for state institutions to take this opinion into consideration. You see, there are few opportunities for us to go onto the street with a poster or to raise questions on the pages of a newspaper. We want our words to be heard so that the organs of power will rely on the will of the citizens and not ignore it.

I will not conceal the fact that the demand for democracy and for the free expression of one's point of view is a delicate question and not a simple one. The divergence here is enormous. One is seemingly now ready to "build a bonfire" for freedom of speech. It makes another happy—but only up to a certain point. A third is happy with "managed" democracy. A fourth is frankly opposed to it. It is clear that as democracy is deepened, the first will think that he is living better, but the fourth—that he is living worse. You will not compensate him for this "flaw" with any abundance of goods on counters. I am afraid that our democracy has acquired an absolute self-contained value in the eyes of a rather limited circle of people. The others, alas, accept it with some amount of reservation or other....

[S. Panasenko] Is that not because even the absolutely correct phrase "not by bread alone" has acquired an ironical meaning with the shortage of food and the most necessary goods? Are the articles of dieticians about the danger of overindulgence in the use of meat, butter and sugar being received as taunts?

[N. Rimashevskaya] You are correct in a certain sense. It is no accident that the 19th party conference literally raised the problems of food, housing, goods and services along with such questions as reforming the political system. A conclusion was drawn during it—perhaps for the first time—about the need to reduce the accumulation fund, which is linked to the expansion of production, and to increase in national income the percentage of the consumption fund, which goes to satisfying the direct needs of the people. Finally, it is necessary to feed and clothe them in a humane way. It is necessary to saturate the market with goods. It is necessary to pull our agriculture from the swamp—by any means! If some sovkhozes and kolhozes are unprofitable, it is necessary

to transfer their land to leaseholders. At the same time, it is necessary to consider the fact that the Soviet farmer needs completely different equipment for tilling the land, caring for livestock and processing the harvest. Only in this way is it possible to solve the problem of reducing the incredible price of meat, milk, eggs, and bread. Look, it is not necessary to raise prices for them.

[S. Panasenko] We made such decisions before and invested quite a bit of resources in both agriculture and light industry. However, the results turned out to be more than modest ones.

[N. Rimashevskaya] Such a danger exists even now if we do not shift from talking about the need to accelerate scientific and technical progress to doing something about it. Throughout the world, the average technological level achieved by society determines the level of demand. This law is the same for everyone. However, in the developed capitalist countries and under their influence—and in many other ones—the gap between the highest and average level of technology is extremely small. Even if science makes a large breakthrough somewhere, for example, in microelectronics or biotechnology, the remaining technological "front" is dragged along very rapidly. It seems only yesterday that a device was developed for the space shuttle and today it is already being used in hospital equipment. The very same composition materials designed for military equipment have rapidly found broad application in the automotive industry and in production and in the manufacturing ... of sports equipment.

Unfortunately an abyss lies between our advanced technology front and our average technological level. This abyss separates the average level from the technologies for producing consumer goods and from the service area. We launch space stations capable of landing accurately on Mars or Venus. However, we equip hospitals with caveman type equipment ready to stop working at any time. Even if we make some goods equal "to the level", we do it very frequently using imported equipment. In order to correct the situation, it is not enough to aim science at a breakthrough—technology must also be harnessed with a consideration for the dash in front of us.

Of course, this is not simple. For decades, a devil-may-care attitude has taken shape toward the consumer area and toward what it would put up with. The notorious residual principle for financing the social area was born in this. It is not surprising that many of our social programs carry a "secondary" stamp. At times, such programs do not exist but rather a collection of incidental measures not connected by a common plan or understanding of what is to be done. Our bureaucratic staff, when developing very important documents, even laws, has become accustomed to ignoring scientific opinion. In the best of cases, they "permit" scientists to express their views. You see, however, a document is not accepted for a day or two. For it to function without a hitch, we must not be skimpy but must perform research, calculate where this or that clause in it will lead, and find different

alternatives using models. However, the bureaucrats do not need all of this science. They have become accustomed to relying on experience and common sense. Except, on what experience? The age of stagnation?

In 1976, for example, allowances for children in families with an income of less than 50 rubles per person were introduced—incidentally, despite the opinion of many economists.

What is bad about this? However, there is little that is good: the state has dispensed money, which could have been invested in the modernization of preschool establishments and in the construction of new kindergartens and nurseries. I am confident that the majority of mothers—if we had given them a choice—would have preferred not to take a ten-ruble note but to send their child to a good kindergarten and, thanks to it, to earn an additional 40 or 50 rubles at work. The introduction of allowances, however, is externally an effective step—and we have an ineradicable love for effects.

We are now posing an important task: a separate apartment for each family by the year 2000. I am in favor of this! But let us define more exactly what a family is? In many countries, yesterday's school boy can leave home, rent an apartment if he has money, and consider himself a family. However, we will not be able to realize this even after 12 years! If we want to give an apartment to each officially registered pair, we must begin with a forecast of how this decision will affect the dynamics of marriages. In 1956, we made a mistake when we determined a new retirement fund. We did not consider how the introduction of the new retirement support would impact on the desire of people to take a rest. It seems that we are repeating the same mistake.

The conclusion is evident: the opportunity for a choice is required in the economy and in social policy just as in private life. Life can be developed and enriched only through variety and pluralism—through a pluralism not only of opinions but also of demands. That is why I want to conclude with one wish: It is time to stop considering demand as something shameful. When we have understood this, we will achieve a better life more actively.

Bureaucrats Accused Of Violating Law On Cooperatives

18120027 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No. 43, 30 Oct-6 Nov 88 p 9

[Article by Andrei Kuteinikov, Cand. Sc. (Economics) entitled: "In Accordance with Law and in Life"—First paragraph was heading in article—Words in boldface as published]

[Text] The Law on Cooperatives came into force over three months ago. Since then both its merits and its defects have come to light. This article is about the attitudes towards the Law of those responsible for translating it into life.

When it comes to protecting one's own interests, bureaucrats readily assume the responsibility, even if this responsibility involves infringement of the law. They have nothing to fear. They know that today, like yesterday, they will hardly be made to answer for exceeding their authority, since today's plaintiff and tomorrow's petitioner are often one and the same person.

In their relations with cooperatives bureaucrats still behave in the same way. But the surprise is that citizens do not wonder why bureaucrats of every hue and rank are suddenly uniting. Perhaps it is worthwhile heeding the views expressed recently in *MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA* by the chairmen of two Moscow cooperatives: "The impression is that there are some who specially want to discredit the cooperative movement." This discrediting of coop members is manifested in direct defamation by officials (take the interview with the USSR Minister of Finance in *OGONYOK*) and in a well-thought-out policy, concealed from the public eye, aimed to limit cooperative activities.

The hindrances begin as soon as one tries to register the cooperative. In many places, Moscow included, the registration procedure looks more like the previous authorization order: after all the papers have been officially approved, the coop chairman must attend an executive committee commission which virtually decides whether or not to allow the registration.

This "demonstration of strength" on the part of the executive committee serves a psychological purpose. So does the Riga City Executive Committee's demand that—in the event of registering the rules—detailed information should be submitted on every cooperative member (including his Party membership, place of work and post), not only its chairman. I fear that many people, aware of the public's attitude toward cooperatives, have decided not to join a cooperative so as not to risk spoiling relations with colleagues at their main place of work.

An even more effective way of delaying the registration of a cooperative is to demand additional documents not required by law. In many cities a certificate on the availability of premises is required for registration. But the Law on Cooperatives stipulates that it is the Soviets that must grant production and other premises to cooperatives (Article 30). That is really laying the fault at the wrong door.

Also widespread is the unlawful demand that a cooperative be set up under the auspices of some enterprise or institution or dovetail with the state-run organization with which it will be competing (bodies responsible for cultural and leisure activities are particularly fond of reserving this right).

But perhaps the height of disregard for the law is the restrictions linked to supply and price formation, as if their purpose is to undermine the cooperative movement

economically and set public opinion even more strongly against coop members. Recently Andrei Fyodorov, chairman of the Moscow cooperative association and director of the Kropotkinskaya 36 Cafe, lamented that Moscow still has no wholesale shop for selling state-owned commodities to cooperatives. Moreover, executive committees have restricted the right of cooperatives to buy goods through the retail-trade network. It is ridiculous to accuse coop members of using underground channels of supply. Their choice is simple: either shut up shop or buy whatever you can get hold of.

The picture is much the same with price formation: cooperatives have to pay much more for raw materials and equipment than do state-owned organizations. And then they are required to sell their goods and services at state-fixed prices. For instance, the Kirovsky District Executive Committee in Riga simply refuses to register the Tergit cooperative unless it renders transport services to state enterprises at state prices and acts only in a strictly limited area. It seems to forget that in this case the cooperative won't be able to cover its costs because it will have to buy motor vehicles, petrol and spare parts at inflated, retail prices.

Whether or not one likes the cooperatives, the key element in regulating their activities must be the law, not the whims of officials. This is not so much a question of combating unearned incomes as of our common security. If today the authorities don't abide by the Law on Cooperatives, tomorrow—like yesterday!—they will disregard the laws on civil rights and the USSR Constitution as such. From our history we know well enough the meaning of arbitrary rule by authorities unrestricted by any laws.

Jury System Termed 'Key to (Legal) Reform'
18120026 Moscow *MOSCOW NEWS* in English
No. 43, 30 Oct-6 Nov 88 p 12

[Article recorded by Andrei Romanov entitled: "A Truly Independent Court"]

[Text] "The court must be a 'court of people's representatives,'" declared Alexander Yakovlev, LLD, in a conversation with an "MN" correspondent.

The next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is to be held in November. It will discuss the new draft legislation concerning the courts. There have been a lot of articles in the press lately about cases when the court wasn't up to its job. The press has written about a number of old cases which only became publishable with the advent of glasnost. But some of the cases were recent ones. Sometimes the court punished an innocent person or, on the contrary, let a criminal off with a light sentence under pressure from local authorities. Often the court itself had an accusatory

tone and demonstrated an inability to objectively weigh the evidence. Or else it tried to "stamp" the necessary documents without having considered the case properly.

The abundance of individual mistakes demands that one examine the root of the problem. Unfortunately, we cannot say that we have an independent system of justice. Ideally, the court is an open contest between two equal sides—the defence and the prosecution. The judge must preserve objectivity and make his decision based on all the evidence. The judge represents the interests of the state. But does he always understand these interests correctly? What are we to do with his objectivity if the case concerns a conflict between a citizen and the state (represented by this or that organ)? The state can influence its employees. Whereas the law, rather than someone's interests, must reign supreme in the court. That is why the court includes in addition to the judge two people's assessors—people's representatives—and all three of them have equal rights.

The point is, however, that the judge can dictate to the assessors. The press has often said that the assessors have their work cut out for them arguing with the judge, because he, unlike them, is a professional jurist. Does it all boil down to arguments alone? Just try to imagine a court-room. The assessors rarely disagree with the judge. You would think that two votes would outweigh one. But nothing of the kind! The judge says: "If that is so, then write the sentence yourselves, and I'll write my 'special opinion'." But are the assessors capable of writing a juridically literate sentence, with an analysis of the evidence and assessment of what both sides said? You must know how such an "argument" usually ends.

The assessors have equal rights with the judge on paper only—and in serious questions they must agree with him. The passivity of most assessors has earned them a bitter nickname—the "nodders." Some lawyers have proposed increasing the number of assessors. I think that wouldn't change anything.

Where's the way out?

As I said, we should set up a court of people's representatives.

Essentially, the idea is that after the court session ends, the people's representatives—not two but at least six of them—make a decision themselves, without the judge. Whether the defendant is guilty of some or all of the charges or, if it is a criminal case, whether he is guilty or not. Whether the action should be satisfied completely or in part, or whether the case should be thrown out if it is a civil one. Such a measure would be in keeping with the democratic transformations now going on in our country. The jury's role in the history of justice is great.

This theme has often been discussed in the press in connection with the idea of a court reform. But critics claim the jury is the yesterday of justice, a medieval institution.

The first Parliament was also set up in the Middle Ages. The principle of dividing the executive and legislative power was likewise formulated several centuries ago. Most democratic forms date back to antiquity.

Your opponents think that the fact that the people's assessors and the judge have equal rights is an advantage. Like the judges, the assessors can question the defendant. The judge cannot accept or reject a solicitation without the people's assessors' consent. Jury members do not have these rights.

Indeed, the people's representatives cannot interfere in the trial. But there is a reason for this. They must be dispassionate and mustn't be drawn into the competitive atmosphere of the trial. Then it is easier for them to make an unbiased judgement about the arguments of both sides and about the fairness of the judge. Of course, their rights are limited. But the main decision—guilty or not guilty—goes over to them. I think, this is much more important.

The people's assessors now have the right to qualify the crime with the judge, applying to it this or that article of the Criminal Code and choosing the punishment.

Yes, this is an important right. And the people's representatives should not be deprived of it. There is no fatal incompatibility in this. World practice knows of cases when the jury first pronounced its sentence independently and then qualified the crime and chose the punishment with the judge. And that is how those juries differ from the "classic" jury panel which decides only one thing—guilty or not guilty.

Aren't you being inconsistent? First, you speak of the juridical ignorance of people's representatives and then you offer to trust them with the most important decisions—the degree of guilt and the punishment.

I don't think there is any contradiction there. Do you think people's representatives are incapable of deciding cases in which the courts are now so often "not sure"—should, for instance, a manager who violated some old instruction in order to help to rid the enterprise of losses be jailed? The jury panel was introduced in Russia 124 years ago and it dealt successfully with its duties. Can people's representatives fulfill this function today? You just listen to the TV interviews with people in the street—they are reasonable, well-argued discourses. The most important and indispensable element of the proposed court is the judge's speech to the jury before it goes into deliberations. The judge must analyze everything heard during the trial, weigh all the evidence and present the jury with the question they have to answer.

People's representatives must be freed during the trial from their main work. Wouldn't that be an additional expenditure and prove much too costly?

Practice shows that cheap justice causes mistakes and thus becomes too costly for society.

I've heard and read that even in countries that use juries, juries deal with only a fraction of all cases.

True. It is not obligatory for a court of people's representatives to deal with a case. The important thing is that any defendant has the right to demand this court for himself. And, of course, in the case of serious crimes this kind of court is a must. It is clear to us, with our tragic experience of the personality cult, how important it is to prevent violations of the law. And the court of people's representatives is a way to prevent this.

There are some who think that "people are cruel" and that a people's court would be cruel too—since the question of guilt would be decided by people's representatives.

I'm sure that's not true. It is one thing if people are asked how crime should be combatted. Here you can hear—"The harsher the punishment, the better!" But in most cases it is quite different when people are asked to decide the fate of the person standing before them. The opinions are more balanced and fairer. Specialists have studied the rare cases when people's assessors disagreed with the verdict and

wrote their own "special opinion." They usually objected to the harshness of the punishment.

But is the point only how the representation of the people will be implemented in the court? Because there are also other directions in improving justice.

The legal reform, of course, has other aspects. The people's judges will be appointed by superior Soviets for prolonged terms. This should raise the authority of the judges and strengthen their independence. The ambiguous situation, when the Procurator's Office supervises both the investigation and its legality (i.e., it checks its own work) will be changed. The Procurator's Office won't supervise the investigation of most cases. These and other measures will improve the situation. But there is a big difference between improvement and reform.

I'm convinced that the court of people's representatives is the key to reform. The prospect of a case being tried by an independent court will force all the other elements of justice to change radically. The investigator, the procurator, the lawyer and the judge won't be able to regard the trial as a mere formality. Each and every time it will be an examination in professionalism.

Will we have a court of people's representatives or not? We mustn't think that this can be decided somewhere in secret, with only professionals taking part. Justice merits its name only when it is the cause of the people and when it operates in agreement with people's understanding of the law. Otherwise it is not the justice of a democratic society.

Khazhak Gyulnazaryan on Armenian Nationality Issues

*18300104a Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian
1 Oct 88 p 3*

[Article by Khazhak Gyulnazaryan: "The Truth Is Born in Argument..." under the "Point of View" rubric]

[Text] We did not invent the nationality issue. It has always existed and will always exist since we live in a multinational state. The problem is that in some areas, such as Armenia, it is a burning issue, and in other places it only smolders. The roots of our nationality issue go back in history. But even if we look no further back than this century, back to the 1920s, the chain of gross errors and authoritarian decisions ignoring the fundamental interests and rights of the Armenian people becomes clear. The fate of the Nagorniy Karabakh is a clear example of Stalinism applied to the nationalities policy. For 70 years we have been unable to correct that historical mistake. During those years, numerous unresolved problems have accumulated in the NKAO and the oblast found itself in a difficult situation which, when soberly evaluated, required R400 million to promote social and economic development. But who let the region decay so badly?

No, the question of reuniting the NKAO with Armenia is not the question of national ambitions. It is the question of defending and affirming the historical rights of the Armenian people. No Armenian thinks differently. I hope that in the end justice will triumph, since the truth is the same for everyone.

And yet, why is it that when we look at the Karabakh movement we see major internal contradictions within it? This is due to numerous internal and external reasons.

A few days ago, in the morning, I witnessed the following incident: a young woman lay across the tram tracks in front of a moving tram car full of passengers, which was her way of urging the passengers and the driver to take part in a strike. What was it, a provocation or a supreme manifestation of patriotism? Probably, neither one nor the other, but a foolish response to calls for "forceful" struggle and immediate victory at any cost. Let our victory last a day or an hour, never mind what happens afterwards. But in the heat of the struggle we lose sight of our main goal, since in politics frontal assault has always been a weak argument.

So, on the one hand, we have hot heads, the majority of whom are no doubt sincere but at times espouse extreme ideas, opinions and slogans. On the other hand, we have cool heads who feel that in the existing situation we must not make a mistake or act without a well-defined program, thereby supplying ammunition to those who want to accuse us of all mortal, and even anti-Soviet, sins: would it not be a great demagogical trick to reduce our just, popular movement to actions of a "handful of extremists?"

To make a balanced assessment of the situation, let us first remember geography and take a look at our more than 29,000 square kilometers of land, and then at our neighbors, or our surroundings. On one side we have Russia, the Russian people whose support we always feel. History itself, its tragic lessons, have induced Armenia to link its destiny with Russia. And this is indeed our destiny. Our brightest people understood that. I personally can not imagine our Tumanyan without Pushkin, Lermontov, Byron and Shakespeare; in other words, outside the context of world culture part of which comes to us through Russia.

Incidentally, when early in the century the czarist government closed down Armenian schools and confiscated land owned by the Armenian Church, many in the Russian intelligentsia were outraged. Perhaps, the comparison will not be entirely correct, but I do not think that the entire Russian and Soviet people views what is happening here in the skewed way it has been reported in some reports in our mass media.

But let us return to Armenia's geographical situation and recall the tragic lessons of history and the tragic fate of our people who has always lived surrounded by enemies, on an island of political and religious strife. Our northward orientation was historically predetermined, just as the acceptance of Christianity was predetermined by the dominant features of our national character. Armenians are a people of natural tillers of the land...

In short, we can not forget the entire difficult set of conflicting forces that came together in the Karabakh issue.

What next? Perhaps, no one can provide a ready answer what to do next. One thing is clear: the path chosen by those who now hold sway over people who gather at Teatralnaya Square—the path of continued work stoppages and hunger strikes—leads to self-destruction.

First of all, it is the path toward destruction of our basic moral values, since even in the most difficult times our greatest weapon was our creative labor. It is a miracle that Armenian culture attained great heights in apparently unbearable circumstances, under the yoke of the Turks and of various other conquerors.

There is also another very simple argument: if we do not meet our contract obligations, it means that our neighbors may one day refuse to meet theirs. How long could Armenia hold out without its grain shipments, for example?

The whole world knows that we have a great culture. Yet, why do we forget about our culture when we tolerate disrespectful sallies against the Catholicos of the Armenian Church and other renowned and respected figures

in the republic who allegedly lack patriotism, whereas in reality they call for a patriotism that would not be of a street rally variety but a sober, thought-out and creative kind.

We are indeed opposed to linguistic assimilation. We, the writers, think that our school should be a single, Armenian one, with an intensive, in-depth study of Russian; fortunately, we have in this area the brilliant example of Nersisyan's school and Gevorkyan's theological seminary, whose graduates wrote books on Russian linguistics. Indeed, the Armenian child should study at an Armenian school and should think in Armenian; yet, he should also be fluent in Russian.

We will not give up a single letter of our alphabet, so to speak, and will never accept national nihilism; but we must not permit a slide toward another extreme, nationalism, either.

Our struggle must go on, but it needs different slogans. First of all, the forces in the Karabakh movement must close ranks. We must put aside personal ambitions and quit holding grudges against one another. It is a wrong time for it. We must not rely on spontaneous actions. We must join with the new leadership of the republic. It is this leadership that will make our demands, expressed both by individuals and by entire collectives and artistic unions, known at the highest level of leadership. Those demands include, for instance, a request by Armenian intellectuals that all-union media report only objective, not tendentious information. From the very start of the movement, it often published false reports. It has been unwilling, or has lacked the courage, to declare exactly who was behind the interethnic clashes in Sumgait, or to state that the extremist forces in Azerbaijan reacted with violence, atrocities and pogroms to the just and constitutional demands of the people of Karabakh. The same lack of clarity and half-truths are present in the coverage of the Sumgait trial. How can the bandits and their victims, or the actions of criminals and of those they were directed at, be equated?

It is a well-known fact that new socio-political organizations, the so-called popular fronts, are being formed in the Baltic republics. Republic newspapers have published drafts of the programs and regulations of those organizations, containing many statements echoing issues that concern us. They are, in effect, the national programs that we still lack.

And one more thing. One day I was walking to work and was passed by a group of high school students headed for a street rally. Someone in the group recognized me and called out to me. The kids gathered around me and peppered me with questions. These adolescents were sincerely involved in a social activity of the grown-ups. Yet, as it turned out later, their knowledge of the history of Artsakh was, sadly enough, very sketchy. Patriotism must be founded on the firm knowledge of the history, historical geography and culture of one's own land. I

have heard that as an experiment, at one school classes have been conducted in the following way: on certain days, the first two hours in upper classes are devoted to Armenian history, with the kids gathering in the auditorium and leading scholars talking to them. Why not try the same system at other schools?

I started this article by mentioning the Stalinist nationality policy. The fact that Armenian history classes were at one time cut to a bare minimum was also the result of that policy. (Incidentally, in Karabakh, where there are no such classes in Armenian school curricula, that policy has been carried to its logical conclusion.) I remember a very old speech by Molotov, who said: "How can one dislike the nation that gave us the Great Stalin!" This was being said about a man who was the torturer of nations. How can one dislike one's own nation? How can one not respect the people who gave the world Narekatsi and Sayat-Nova, whose names will forever remain in the history of world culture? Apparently, one can. It turns out that during the campaign against cosmopolitans and cosmopolitanism, that opportunity was used to carry out a campaign of mass deportations of Armenians to the Altay region in the late 1940s. This is frightening to recall. But it is even more frightening that we have remained on the same level of addressing the nationalities issue. This way, we will never advance toward perestroyka in our society, toward the perestroyka which allowed our people to voice issues of vital concern to us, and in whose success we have a keen interest.

Armenians Blast AzSSR Cultural Preservation Work in NKAO
18300104b Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian 7 Oct 88
p 3

[Letter to the Editor by L.Barsegyan, Chairman of the ArSSR Council of Ministers' Main Administration of the Protection and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments, and A.Grigoryan, Chairman of the Armenian Union of Architects' Administration: "The Attitude toward the Past Is the Best Guarantee of the Future" under the "Letter to the Editor" rubric]

[Text] The well-known CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers' resolution on socio-economic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast for 1988-95 proposes to "develop and implement a set of measures to continue the restoration and rebuilding of historical and cultural monuments on the territory of the NKAO, inviting Armenian restorers to take part in the work."

The problem is not new. According to increasingly accurate data, approximately 2,800 historical monuments of the Artsakh architectural style either have been destroyed or are in a semi-destroyed condition. As a rule, they are not under the state's protection, and never have been. Yet, they include such extraordinary works of international importance as monasteries: Amaras,

founded in the 4th century, Dadivank (4th-13th centuries), Akobavank (8th-13th centuries) and Gtchevank (13th century), the Okhty Drni monastery and the Vachagan church (6th-7th centuries) and numerous religious complexes including the masterpiece of Armenian architecture and one of the best works of medieval architecture in general, the Gandzasar monastery built in 1216-38. The list could go on, mentioning also numerous other churches, palace complexes and stone stelae, the so-called khachkars which mark practically every square foot of that land.

In a particularly poor state of repair are over 1,000 architectural monuments of the Martakertskiy, Gadrutskiy, Martuninskiy and Askeranskiy rayons, including Avaptuk, Adanaberd, Astkhablur and other monuments. Some memorials have been completely destroyed.

It would seem that in the existing situation time has come to turn from words to deeds. This is what the ArSSR Council of Ministers' Main Administration of the Protection and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments has done. Work to complete the registry of Armenian cultural monuments in Nagorniy Karabakh and Nakhichevan has started. To implement the resolution, we have proposed a special architectural office to measure the monuments and develop restoration projects for them, as well as a Nagorniy Karabakh research and production affiliate of the Main Administration. In 1988-95 we plan to restore, rebuild and do conservation work on some 100 monuments of the history and architecture of ancient Artsakh.

However, these proposals have met with a total rejection at the AzSSR Ministry of Culture, and apparently not by accident. The ministry's official reply to Armenian specialists' proposals—which, incidentally, were fully in line with the joint resolution of the central committees of the communist parties of Armenia and Azerbaijan—states: "In our view, the proposal to organize a general research group to study historical and cultural monuments on the territory of the AzSSR's NKAO contradicts the existing law stating that all monuments on the territory of a republic, regardless of their national origin, belong to that republic, and given the existing national relations in the region, it will not help stabilize the situation." (Letter No. 1981/09, dated May 8, 1988.) How about that! The strategy is simple and clear: to assert their right over Armenian monuments, especially since several thousand ancient Armenian monuments have been arbitrarily declared Albanian (i.e., Azeri) ones.

It is telling that the AzSSR Ministry of Culture's long-term research and restoration plan for 1989-95 proposes to restore only 9 monuments in the NKAO. The pace that prevailed during the period of stagnation continues, and purposefully so. Christian architectural monuments are being turned into Muslim ones thanks to the efforts of Azerbaijani restorers. In this respect, it is worth recalling the so-called restoration of the Armenian

church Surb Sarkis in Kirovabad which, with the help of several wings constructed for the purpose, was made to look like a mosque and all its Christian imagery was covered.

It is not at all accidental that the AzSSR Council of Ministers, in this period of tensions between the two nationalities related to events in Nagorniy Karabakh, has so hastily passed Resolution No.145 dated April 27, 1988, approving the list of historical and cultural monuments in the NKAO prepared by the AzSSR Ministry of Culture, the republic's Academy of Sciences and the volunteer society for the preservation of historical and cultural monuments. The list contains not a single monument of Armenian architecture, whereas in reality there are some 11,000 of them in Azerbaijan.

Only 20 years ago, in a similar resolution of the Azerbaijani government (No.140 dated April 2, 1968), the term "Albanian architecture" did not exist. Now, all of a sudden, there has been a boom in the study of local culture. World-famous Armenian khachkars in Nagorniy Karabakh and Nakhichevan have been declared by D.Akhundov and M.Akhundov to be monuments of Caucasian Albania and hence, Azerbaijani. They attempted to introduce a new, Azeri-sounding term for them, khachdashi. Moreover, they invented differences between them and other khachkars elsewhere in Armenia. Thus, they wrote that "Armenian khachkars are less informative."

A commission set up by the USSR Academy of Sciences unanimously concluded in 1984 that such statements are baseless. (The letter of the USSR Academy of Sciences' History Department, No.14100-1851-179, dated June 14, 1984, states this extremely clearly.)

And yet, today, the Azerbaijani government's decree stamped a seal of approval on gross falsifications. Is this not a throwback to past practices which have been justly condemned by our society? The following words of Karl Marx come to mind: "Self-interest has no memory, since it thinks of nothing but itself. It remembers only that which is closest to its heart: its own self. Discrepancies do not confound it, since it is not in conflict with itself. It improvises as it goes along, as it has no system, only a set of tricks."

To understand and feel the need for higher culture is a demand of our times. No one has the right to cultural supremacy, but any people should strive to protect its national culture, even when the development of a separate branch of it took place outside today's administrative borders, but in its historical cultural area. Stealing other people's culture has never enriched anyone; it can not be equated with adaptation and creative use of a cultural heritage. No matter how often Azerbaijani historians called them "Albanian temples" and "khachdashes", Armenian churches and khachkars have always been and will remain Armenian, since their architecture

itself is the best proof of their origin. Such issues can not form a subject of a scientific discussion. They can not even be decided by a show of hands.

The question is can such actions be acceptable in principle, especially after the legitimate demand of the Armenian population of the NKAO to restore their rights to their own history and culture has been backed by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, after Sumgait and after numerous assurances of friendship and good relations between neighbors? The answer to it can only be negative.

Since architecture has rightly been called the most enduring and truthful biography of a nation, then the attitude to it can be viewed as representative of a nation's characteristic traits.

Proposals for Armenia-NKAO Social, Economic Integration

18300098a Yerevan *KOMSOMOLETS* in Russian
6 Oct 88 pp 2-3

[Article by Yu. Suvaryan, doctor of economic sciences, professor, and S. Melkumyan, doctor of geographic sciences, professor, under rubric "A Scientists' Point of View": "Armenia-NKAO: Problems and Paths of Socio-economic Integration"]

[Text] By virtue of a number of historical circumstances, Armenians in the USSR constitute two forms of national state system—Armenian SSR and Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO).

The attempt is usually made to explain the administrative subordination of Nagornyy Karabakh to Azerbaijan SSR by the close economic ties that the oblast has with that republic. However, of the eight economic regions in Azerbaijan SSR, NKAO is the one that is least integrated with the economy of that republic. For example, the share of Azerbaijan SSR in the products shipped into and out of NKAO varies within the limits of only 8-12 percent. The determining role in the formation of the material resources and the consumption of the output produced by the industry of Nagornyy Karabakh is played by the economic regions of the RSFSR, and this fact creates large transportation expenses and a number of organizational difficulties.

As has been shown by the results of research, NKAO has a low level of development of industry; it lacks a modern structure; machine-building—especially its science-intensive branches—and power engineering are not developed; it has a weak technical base in agriculture; and capital construction and the branches in the service sphere and the nonproduction sphere are lagging behind the present-day requirements.

The production of industrial output per capita of population in NKAO constitutes only 75 percent of this indicator for Azerbaijan SSR. A similar comparison with respect to the fixed assets in industrial production is obviously not to the benefit of NKAO—43 percent.

The socioeconomic integration of Nagornyy Karabakh with Armenian SSR will lead to the quickest resolution of many of the oblast's problems and to an increase in the effectiveness of social production in the region. This has already been promoted by the structure and specialization of industry and agriculture which have developed in Nagornyy Karabakh and Armenian SSR, and also by the broad opportunities that exist for forming infrastructural branches and services that are uniform for the republic and the oblast. It should also be emphasized that in this instances integration is influenced not only by socioeconomic necessity, by also by certain historical, national-ethnic prerequisites.

Large opportunities in this direction are opened up in the light of the well-known decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the socioeconomic development of NKAO, as well as the 18 July 1988 decision of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. On their basis, on the initiative of the soviet and party agencies of Armenia and the republic's production enterprises and institutions, steps are being taken to participate in the decision of the oblast's socioeconomic problems.

In our opinion, the time is ripe for the next trends in the socioeconomic integration of Armenian SSR and NKAO.

In Nagornyy Karabakh at the present time a number of deposits of nonferrous and noble metals have been revealed in Mardakertskiy and Gadrutskiy rayons. The Mekhmaninskoye deposit of polymetallic ores has been prospected in Mardakertskiy Rayon. Since, in Azerbaijan SSR, the development of polymetallic oreas is of local significance, the level that has developed in the industrial exploitation of those deposits does not correspond to the present-day requirements of the development of productive forces.

At the same time, right next door, Armenian SSR has five mining and concentration factories. The deposits of polymetallic ores in Mardakertskiy Rayon and the copper ores in Gadrutskiy Rayon of NKAO could become an additional raw-materials base for the largest factory, the Zangezurskiy Copper and Molybdenum Combine.

The use of the deposits of nonferrous and noble metals in Nagornyy Karabakh in the nonferrous-metallurgy complex that has developed in Armenian SSR is desirable as a result of such important factors as the availability of powerful mining and concentration enterprises and copper-casting production; the tremendous experience in the functioning of these production entities; the availability of scientific and construction-planning support

(ArmGIProtsvetmet); the need to complete the technological cycles of the production entities within the confines of the region; and also the availability of highly skilled cadres of workers and specialists who can resettle in Nagornyy Karabakh.

As a result of the fact that, despite the availability of major capacities in the ceramic and porcelain industry, Armenian SSR has a shortage of the corresponding high-grade raw materials, it is desirable to study the question of the possibility of using the clay deposits in Nagornyy Karabakh. It is also desirable to organize the broad use of the reserves of colored marbles and granites in the oblast.

The integration of Nagornyy Karabakh with Armenian SSR with regard to machine-building and light industry can be based on the following principles and can take into consideration the following factors:

- Nagornyy Karabakh has enterprises in these branches, with specialized production entities, which, with respect to the formation of material resources and cooperative action, can become part of the major production associations of Armenian SSR;
- the republic's experience of creating branches of enterprises and enterprises can be extended to Nagornyy Karabakh;
- the need to improve the branches in the structure of the oblast's industry, and to develop modern machine-building;
- Armenian SSR has a system for training cadres of specialists and workers in institutions of higher learning and technicums, and in technical-production schools for many branches and subbranches in the Armenian language;
- in conformity with the Law Governing the Socialist Enterprise, the collective of an enterprise has the right to enter an association at its own discretion.

Taking into consideration these factors and the opinions of specialists, the Stepanakert Lighting-Engineering Plant can become part of the Luys PO; the Stepanakert Agricultural Machine-Building Plant can become part of Armselkhozmechanizatsiya NPO; the Stepanakert Shoe Factory can become part of the Masis PO; and the garments factor can become part of the Garment Production Association imeni K. Tsetkin. The Karabakh Silk Combine can create such ties with the Silk Combine imeni V. I. Lenin in Yerevan.

The establishment of economic ties will make it possible to redesign the production apparatus of the enterprises in the oblast on the basis of advanced technology, to improve the variety, increase the degree of specialization, and guarantee the formation of cooperatives.

With respect to the creation of new machine-building production entities and enterprises in light industry in Nagornyy Karabakh one can propose branches of the most advanced associations in Armenian SSR, the output of which is characterized by low metal-intensity and energy-intensity—Ani NPO, Elektron PO, Avtomatika NPO, Razdanmash NPO, YerNIIMM, Sapfir, Masis, and Lyuks PO, as well as the Araks Plant, etc.

Right now it is possible to locate in NKAO no fewer than 25 branches with a total of 4500-6000 workers. The most favorable spots for locating branches are: the cities of Martuni and Mardakert; the settlements of Askeran, Gadrut, Leninavan, and Krasnyy Bazar; the large villages of Chartar, Tog, Mets-Taglar, Gishi, Aterk, Aradzadzor, Avetaranots, Shon, Vank, Tumy, Sos, Kusaberd, Chaylu, Nerkin Oratag, Tagavard, Seysulan, Talish, Kusapat, etc. The creation of branches will simultaneously promote the acceleration of the sociocultural growth of these cities and other settlements.

The construction complex in NKAO is characterized by a low level of development. During the 1951-1980 period the total amount of capital investments per capita of population in NKAO was two-thirds of the amount for the republic as a whole. The amount of capital investments per inhabitant for Azerbaijan SSR as a whole in 1985 was 453 rubles, and in 1986, 473 rubles; and for NKAO, respectively, 226 and 178 rubles. Every year capital-investment funds in the amount of 4-5 million rubles remain unused in the oblast and are withdrawn by the republic, as a result of the lack of support provided by republic agencies in the form of the necessary allocated materials and structurals. In 1987, for Trust No. 9 of Minstroy [Ministry of Construction], with a plan of 13.1 million rubles for construction-and-installation operations by their own efforts, the actual fulfillment constituted 9.1 million rubles, or 68.1 percent. The oblast even lacks a ZhBK plant. The only large-scale industrial building-materials enterprise in the oblast—the building-materials combine—produces processed facing stone, which for the most part is shipped outside the confines of the oblast and the republic.

The integration of the construction complex in NKAO with Armenian SSR should be carried out on the following principles:

—Armenian SSR has a tremendous amount of experience, going back a thousand years, in stone processing; a modern technological base has been created; various research is underway in the mining and processing of natural stone. It is desirable to use this experience in NKAO;

—as a result of the allocation of considerable capital investments to NKAO, the oblast will need considerable volumes of building materials which have been traditionally used in Armenian architecture, as well as specialists who can be sent from Armenian SSR.

The integration of NKAO with Armenian SSR with respect to industrial-agrarian complex can be carried out in the following directions: grape production and viticulture; cheese production; vegetable and fruit growing; the production of canned goods and juices.

At the present time a disproportion has developed in Armenian SSR between the availability of capacities in the wine-making industry and the raw-materials base. It should be noted that a considerable amount of the raw materials used are shipped into the republic, primarily cognac alcohol (from Moldavia and Bulgaria). Because of the lack of land in the republic, a substantial increase in grape production can be achieved by reducing the areas devoted to fruits, vegetables, and fodder crops. At the same time, the development and improvement of viticulture in Armenia guarantees considerable currency proceeds. Also, according to an estimate made by specialists, NKAO at the present time can deliver to Armenian SSR as much as 36,000-40,000 tons of industrial varieties of grapes and a considerable amount of high-grade cognac alcohol. Simultaneously, specialists from Armenian SSR can participate in developing cognac production in Nagornyy Karabakh.

It is desirable, on the basis of the comprehensive zonal experimental station of NKAO (which engages in problems of grape-growing and fruit-growing), to create a branch of the scientific-research institute of grape-growing and fruit-growing, of ArSSR Agroprom.

Armenian SSR, where cheese production has been traditionally developed, can extend its experience in the production of Swiss and Armenian cheeses in Nagornyy Karabakh, where the conditions for cheese production are much better than in Armenian SSR. The milk resources in NKAO make it possible, in the future, to produce for export approximately 4000 tons of high-grade cheese. It is proposed, within the confines of NKAO Agroprom, to create under the aegis of ArSSR Agroprom a cheese-making complex that involves the public on a cooperative basis.

As is well known, the territory of Armenian SSR is characterized by a sharply continental climate, whereas in Nagornyy Karabakh the climate is milder and more moderate. As a result it is desirable to consider the question of developing vegetable and fruit growing in Nagornyy Karabakh, with an orientation toward supplying the industrial centers of Armenian SSR, as well as those in RSFSR, with early vegetables and fruits. In this regard, ArSSR Agroprom could organize within the oblast a network of procurement points, as well as canned-goods plants with a capacity of up to 5 million standard cans for the production of especially high-grade, gourmet types of jams, juices, and preserves made from blackberries, figs, quince, mulberries...

The development of production ties between NKAO and Armenian SSR is dictated by the need to create in Stepanakert a large-scale supply base for ArSSR Gossnab. It is also desirable to open up, in the rayon centers

of Nagornyy Karabakh, wholesale stores of the republic's Gossnab. Simultaneously we consider it necessary to note that, when constructing a particular industrial project, it is necessary to take into consideration the task of preserving the beautiful natural environment in Karabakh.

Broad and varied production ties between Nagornyy Karabakh and Armenian SSR can develop only if there are reliable transportation ties.

From this point of view, a vitally important factor for guaranteeing reliable transportation ties in this area is the fastest redesigning of the Goris-Stepanakert highway, which represents a single direction in motor transport. At the present time the section of this highway that is of nationwide importance within the confines of the Armenian SSR is in good condition and functions year round. But on the territory of Azerbaijan SSR this highway—the Zabukh-Lachin section—is, practically speaking, in an emergency condition.

The activation of the Yerevan-Goris-Stepanakert road will make it possible to reduce the motor-road distance between NKAO and the Yerevan city agglomeration by 150 kilometers. In addition, in passenger communication alone, a large annual saving of fuel will be guaranteed.

Another important question in providing direct motor-transport communication between Armenian SSR and NKAO is the building of the Dzhermuk-Istisu-Mardakert highway, which makes it possible to create a new direction in motor transport. Actually, the Istisu-Mardakert already has a good motor road, and all that remains is to build the Dzhermuk-Istisu road. The functioning of the Dzhermuk-Istisu-Mardakert section will make it possible, by the shortest route, to link with Armenian SSR the largest rayon in NKAO—Mardakertskiy Rayon (45,000 inhabitants)—as well as Shaumyanovskiy and Khanlarskiy rayons in Azerbaijan SSR with a population of 40,000 Armenians. This highway will make it possible to ship Istisu mineral water (Azerbaijan SSR) by way of the Dzhermuk railroad station after the building of the Vardenis-Dzhermuk Railroad by 1993.

With respect to the rail communication between Nagornyy Karabakh and Armenian SSR, the first-priority measure is the organizing of passenger communication along the Yerevan-Razdan-Akstafa-Yevlakh-Stepanakert itinerary. It should be noted that this itinerary will be used by persons leaving Nagornyy Karabakh from the cities of Abovyan, Charentsavan, Razdan, and Idzhevan, as well as the population of the city of Kirovabad and Shamkhorskiy, Dashkesanskiy, Khanlarskiy, and Shaumyanovskiy rayons.

The development of air communications between NKAO and Armenian SSR, with the proviso of the construction of a major airport in Stepanakert and the equipping of it with necessary navigational equipment,

can be carried out by organizing the following air routes: Leninakan-Stepanakert, Kirovakan-Stepanakert, Kafan-Stepanakert, and Goris-Stepanakert.

The Zangezurskiy region, with a population of 150,000 persons, has four airports at its disposal. In NKAO and adjacent Armenian rayons with a population 180,000 person, there exists only one airport in Stepanakert. It is desirable to create in the northern part of Nagornyy Karabakh—in Mardakertskiy Rayon—a local airport and to organize the Yerevan-Mardakert air route, which airport and route will be used by the population of Shaumyanovskiy and Khanlarskiy rayons. In the total series of measures to assure the socioeconomic development of Nagornyy Karabakh, the resolution of the questions of culture and education are of very great importance.

Starting on 1 May 1988 Stepanakert and Askeranskiy and Shushinskiy rayons have been receiving the television broadcasts of Armenian Television. However, this opportunity is not available to the 120,000 Armenians who live in Mardakertskiy, Martuninskiy, Gadrutskiy, Shaumyanovskiy, Khanlarskiy, Dashkesanskiy, and Shamkhorskiy rayons. Thus, the broadcasts of Armenian Television are received by only 35 percent of the Armenian population of NKAO and the adjacent Armenian rayons. It is necessary to devote special attention to the most rapid organizing of television broadcasting from Yerevan to the entire territory of Nagornyy Karabakh.

Recently, by means of the efforts of Armenian specialists, local television reception was set up in NKAO. It is also necessary to create the possibility of showing the broadcasts of the oblast television center within the confines of Armenia.

As has been demonstrated by practical life, the pedagogical institute and the technicums that are functioning in NKAO have a structure that does not conform to the oblast's needs for cadres or to the national makeup of the population.

In order to train highly skilled specialists in the oblast, it is necessary to create as soon as possible, instead of the currently operating Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute, a university-type higher educational institution that would have various schools: physics and philology; history and philology; mechanical and machine-building; construction; agriculture; economics; and pedagogical. The total number of students could be from 2000 to 2500. The creation and development of this institution of higher learning in Stepanakert will be promoted by the scientific public and specialists of Yerevan and by the ArSSR Ministry of Public Education, taking into consideration the fact that the students there could also include young people from the Armenian rayons adjacent to the oblast.

At the same time, something that must remain an important form in training cadres for Nagornyy Karabakh in Armenian SSR is the system of limits when admitting students to institutions of higher learning and technicums, and also to PTU for a number of specialties.

A factor of very great importance in developing Nagornyy Karabakh's scientific and cultural ties with Armenian SSR is the protection of the monuments of Armenian material culture. Over the course of millennia, the Armenian nation created in Nagornyy Karabakh cultural monuments of world importance: the temples of Gandzasar (13th century), Amaras (4th century), and Gtich (12th century), as well as numerous churches, fortresses, khachkars, caravanserais, and monasteries.

All these values were created by the Armenian nation, and they are a component part of Armenian culture. As has been shown by practical life, Azerbaijan SSR does not have the appropriate cadres for planning or carrying out the work of restoring the monuments of Armenian culture. Unfortunately, during the 70 years of the Soviet authority they were not subjected to even partial restoration. At the same time, the ArSSR Committee for the Protection and Use of Monuments has had a tremendous amount of experience in registering these projects. That is why we feel it desirable for all the operations in the protection, registration, and restoration of Armenian monuments of history and culture to be carried out, together with the appropriate institutions in the oblast, by the ArSSR Committee for the Protection and Use of Monuments of History and Culture.

With a consideration of the traditional intellectual potential, it is necessary to create in NKAO a branch of ArSSR Academy of Sciences, for purposes of studying the culture, ethnography, and folklore of the Armenians in that oblast, as well as for purposes of developing the fundamental and social sciences. It is simultaneously necessary to include the branches of the oblast's creative unions in the corresponding unions of Armenian SSR.

The USSR Constitution has firmly established the right to profess a religion. In Nagornyy Karabakh that right is not being implemented with respect to the Armenian population. That population does not have a single Armenian church in operation. It is proposed to create a diocese of the Armenian Apostolic Church, which includes five operating churches in the temples of Gandzasar (Mardakertskiy Rayon), Amaras (Martuninskiy Rayon), Gtich (Gadrutskiy Rayon), and Kazanchetsots (Shusha), which should be restored first of all.

Thus, the proposed measures for assuring the socioeconomic integration will become an important factor in the successful implementation of Leninist national policy, and a step in the direction of carrying out the cherished hopes of the Armenian nation.

**Armenian Central Committee 8 October Meeting
on Political, Economic Situation**
18300101a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
11 Oct 88 pp 1-2

[Armenpress report: "Meeting in the Armenian Party Central Committee: All Efforts for Accomplishing Urgent Tasks"]

[Text] On 8 October, a meeting was held in the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. Participating in the meeting were members and candidate members of the Central Committee Buro of the Armenian Communist Party, Central Committee department heads, deputy chairmen of the ArSSR Council of Ministers, first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms, senior Central Committee staff officials, and representatives of the mass media.

The first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, S.G. Arutyunyan, gave the opening address.

The meeting examined questions of the political situation, the course of the reports and elections campaign in party organizations, and the status of state target fulfillment in sectors of the national economy.

Armenian Communist Party Central Committee secretaries Yu.P. Kochetkov, G.A. Galoyan, K.A. Gambaryan, and T.A. Dilanyan gave reports on these questions.

The following participated in the exchange of opinions: M.S. Minasbekyan, first secretary of the Yerevan Gorkom; M.L. Mkrtchyan, first secretary of the Leninakan Gorkom; N.A. Grigoryan, first secretary of the Kirovakan Gorkom; A.O. Akopyan, first secretary of the Araratkiy Raykom; G.S. Kotandzhyan, first secretary of the Razdanskiy Raykom; M.G. Mkrtchyan, first secretary of the Artikskiy Raykom; V.V. Agayan, secretary of the Yerevan Gorkom; and Z.G. Balayan, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent for the ArSSR.

It was noted in the reports and speeches that the political situation in the republic remains complex and tense and requires aggressive, initiative-filled actions of party, soviet and public bodies, primary party organizations, labor collectives, and economic managers. It is important that the press, television, and radio bring reliable and exhaustive information to communists and workers in a timely manner.

It was emphasized that a special role in carrying out these tasks had been given to the party's current reports and elections campaign, which on the whole is proceeding successfully, efficiently, and constructively in the republic. The reports and elections have concluded in party groups and shop party organizations; meetings have been held in three-fourths of the primary organizations. Preparation for the city and rayon conferences of the Armenian Communist Party is under way.

At the same time, certain shortcomings and omissions have been identified in the course of the campaign. In a number of party organizations, communists overlooked flagrant breaches of party and state discipline and displayed liberalism in evaluating the activities of party group organizers, secretaries, and members of elective bodies. This took place in many party groups of Ordzhonikidzevskiy, Amasiyskiy, Aragatsskiy, and Stepanavanskiy rayons and in shop party organizations of

Gugarksiy, Masiskiy, and certain other rayons, where the activities of all party group organizers party organizations were rated satisfactory without proper justification.

In some local party elements, the Leninakan Knitted-Goods Production Association and a footwear factory, for example, communists rated the activities of party group and shop organization secretaries favorably even in the presence of cases of misappropriation of socialist property, extremely low product quality, massive absenteeism, and strikes.

Instead of analyzing party work, the reports often enumerated economic problems or reviewed the work of production subdivisions. For example, at the reports and elections meeting of the Zovasarskiy Sovkhoz of Talinskij Rayon they discussed strictly production questions. Attempts by a raykom member and a raykom instructor to bring the meeting to a frank discussion of the state of affairs in the party organization and to give a political assessment of the work during the reporting period were met with indifference and apathy on the part of the meeting participants.

At this stage of the campaign it is necessary to do everything possible to ensure that the party conferences take place in an organized manner, in the spirit of the requirements of the 19th All-Union Conference and the September (1988) Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, and in a situation of high political activeness, criticism and self-criticism, and a fundamental evaluation of the course of perestroika.

It is important to analyze and summarize without delay the results of the reports and elections party meetings already held in order to preclude such mistakes and irregularities in conducting them in the future. The time and the situation demand intensifying the activities of the party masses, increasing the role and responsibility of party organizations and committees of various levels, and consistently establishing political methods of leadership and the priority directions of perestroika in their activities.

At the meeting they talked about the tasks of party committees in connection with the structural changes in their staff. Thus, the staff of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee was cut by 30 percent, and the number of its departments was cut in half. The organizational, ideological, and general departments and the party commission were left in the party raykoms. Reorganization of the structure of party organs is not a formal measure; it creates the necessary conditions for a radical change in their work style and methods.

During the course of the reports and elections campaign, the unsatisfactory level of ideological work of many party organs and organizations is coming to light; they are still not struggling purposefully enough against stagnant phenomena in the ideological and ethical sphere.

Abnormal phenomena which have taken root, such as misappropriation of socialist property, corruption, bribery, protectionism, contempt for the law, and violations of principles of social justice, have left their deep mark on the moral state of society, resulted in part of the workers losing moral values and reference points, and have given rise to their lack of faith, skepticism, apathy, and pessimism.

The meeting devoted special attention to questions of restructuring ideological work at the present stage. It was noted that the process of restructuring and democratization of the country has raised the civic activeness of broad sections of the workers to unprecedented levels; however, the republic's party organizations had not yet been able to use effectively the opportunities which are opening up.

It was emphasized that the just demand of the Armenian people, who expect constitutional resolution of this question based on the basic tenets of Lenin's nationality policy, is at the basis of the movement which has emerged in connection with the Nagornyy Karabakh problem.

However, trends have emerged in this movement which are not only alien to the supreme national interests but, if not decisively countered, can drive resolution of the Nagornyy Karabakh problem to an impasse. Hasty steps seriously threaten the fate of our people. At rallies, voices and slogans are often heard which, although not widely supported, to a certain extent cast a shadow on the moral character of the Armenian people.

The task of party organizations, ideological activists, and all sensible public figures is to bring this movement from its present state of crisis and help it to move to a considered political platform taking into account both the supreme interests of the Armenian people and the interests of the fraternal alliance of peoples of the USSR which has undergone ordeals.

The republic's mass media was criticized quite a bit at the meeting. At the same time, it was noted that mass media had considerably intensified their work recently. A number of materials—articles, appeals, responses, interviews, reports on the situation in NKAO—were published and broadcast which provided sufficiently complete information on the situation, explained the entire complexity of the situation, and called for prudence and restraint. However, the position of the newspapers' editorial staffs as a whole is still passive. They are not drawing much attention to speeches of party workers and representatives of the intelligentsia, whose remarks could play a positive role in normalizing the situation. A serious shortcoming of the mass media was the insufficiently consistent, graphic, and convincing treatment of the important problems raised at the September 1988 Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum and the search for ways of their practical implementation.

The meeting devoted much attention to the republic's economic situation. Industrial enterprises fulfilled 97.1 percent of their contract obligations for product delivery between January and September; 28.6 percent of the enterprises and associations did not cope with their obligations, being 173.5 million rubles short on delivery of products to consumers. Compared to the corresponding period of last year, shortages in deliveries increased 27.4 million rubles. The percentage of enterprises and associations that did not cope with their obligations also increased 5.1 points. The situation in union-subordinate enterprises and associations is particularly unsatisfactory. They accounted for more than 86 percent of the total volume of delivery shortages.

Development of the machine building complex continues to lag behind considerably. There were shortages in delivery of products to consumers in the sum of 80.3 million rubles in 30 of the 40 machine building enterprises, including the Armelektromash, Armelektrosvigatel, Luys, Armkhimmash, Avtogenmash, Elektropribor, Nairit, and Avtomatika production associations [PO] and a number of plants.

The unsatisfactory fulfillment of contract obligations by enterprises operating under the new conditions of economic management causes special concern. As a result of nonfulfillment of set plan targets, the majority of industrial enterprises and associations are in serious financial condition. Among them are the Armelektromash PO, Razdanmash PO, Armavto PO, Charentsavan Machine Tool Building Enterprise, and also a number of enterprises of the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems, the Ministry of Light Industry, and others.

It is understood that the drop in the economic indices of industrial enterprises is largely the result of the large number of people not showing up for work in February, June, July, and September of this year. But there is another important cause. Party committees and primary party organizations are not yet striving persistently enough to institute the new methods of economic management everywhere, to improve the moral and psychological climate in labor collectives, and to create all the conditions for creative, initiative-filled work at each work place.

The meeting emphasized the need to increase the efficiency of using the production potential in the agro-industrial complex and concentrating efforts and resources in its most important sectors. The main criterion of the level of organizational and economic work here should not be the criterion of fulfillment of plans, moreover often understated, but indices of the use of natural-economic potential and production efficiency: production cost, productivity, profitability. Agriculture

is sustaining considerable losses primarily due to inefficient and sometimes wasteful use of land and water resources. An analysis of the state of grape growing, fruit growing, vegetable growing, and potato growing shows that these important sectors have both considerable unused reserves and significant shortcomings which must be eliminated immediately. The vegetable assortment plan is chronically not fulfilled; it is fulfilled for 9 of 13 types.

Compared to the same period of the preceding year, almost all the republic's rayons lagged behind considerably in the planting of winter crops and in fall plowing.

Despite overall fulfillment of plans for procurement of livestock products during the 9 months of this year, compared to last year 27 rayons have reduced sales to the state in meat, 11 in milk, and 9 in wool. The milk yield per cow decreased in 23 rayons; cattle population decreased in 31 rayons, including cows in 24 rayons. Of particular concern is the situation that has developed in livestock raising in Yekhegnadzorskiy, Aparanskiy, Martuninskiy, and Tumanyanskiy rayons.

The status of feed procurement on farms of a number of rayons is also causing serious concern, as is the status of feed production and ensuring the proper feed quality. The most efficient intervention is necessary here. Every measure must be taken here to create a firm feed base this year.

The party, soviet, and economic bodies also face urgent tasks in connection with the upcoming wintering of cattle.

The level of mechanization is low in farming and livestock raising, mechanization is being introduced slowly on many farms, and the available agricultural equipment is being used inefficiently. The percentage of manual labor remains high in cultivating, caring for, and harvesting fruit, grape, vegetable and melon, and tobacco crops.

An immediate source for replenishing the food fund is to reduce losses of field and farm products during harvesting, transporting, storing, and processing.

At the same time, we are making extremely unsatisfactory use of the agricultural production capabilities in the private plots of citizens, subsidiary farms of enterprises and organizations, and also collective horticulture associations.

Success in increasing the effectiveness of agricultural production is directly dependent upon restructuring the economic mechanism and improving the methods of economic management. However, resolving this problem is running into quite serious difficulties. Only 40 percent of the enterprises and organizations under the

jurisdiction of the republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee have the opportunity to shift to full cost-accounting and self-financing. The rest of the enterprises and organizations need to increase their profits more than 200 million rubles to switch.

With the significant increase in contract collectives, far from everywhere are the basic principles of their work being implemented: independence; true cost-accounting; the relationship of pay and the end results. The pace of introducing lease contract is slow; only 6.5 percent the cattle and hogs are being cared for on this basis, and only 17 percent of the arable land is being tilled under lease contract. Lease contract is not being used in Azizbekovskiy, Kalininskiy, Krasnoseselskiy, Martuninskiy, Shamshadinskiy, and Shaumyanskiy rayons.

As was noted at the meeting, an extremely tense situation has developed in capital construction. In 9 months, 79.1 percent of capital investments have been put into operation or, accordingly, a shortfall of 250 million rubles of capital investments and 71 million rubles of construction and installation work. The plan for commissioning fixed capital is only 48.3 percent fulfilled. Only 503 million rubles worth of assets have been commissioned, against 1.04 billion rubles worth called for by the plan. Many projects and capacities have not been turned over for operation in power engineering, machine building, agricultural production, and the fundamental construction base. There is a significant drop in all capital construction indices compared to the same period last year.

The vast majority of the republic's contract organizations have not coped with the capital construction plans, particularly the construction and installation organizations of Yerevan, Leninakan, Abovyan, Ararat, Artashat, Oktemberyan, Talin, Tumanyan, Echmiadzin, and many other rayons.

The state of construction of projects in the social sphere causes concern. In 9 months, the shortages for state capital investments alone are 122,000 square meters of housing, 8,000 student places in schools, 1,670 places in nurseries, 390 beds in hospitals, and 3,500 places in clubs and houses of culture. On the whole, the shortage in commissioning of non-production capital investments is 150 million rubles. The plan for construction of projects in the social sphere has failed completely in Yerevan, Leninakan, Amasiy, Aragat, Ararat, Aparan, Kalininskiy, Yekhegnadzorskiy, Nairi, Oktemberyan, Talin, Tumanyan, Echmiadzin, and many other cities and rayons of the republic.

In addition to construction, special attention should also be given to preparing housing and public utilities for winter. Work on repairing residential and public buildings, building and modernizing boiler and engineering lines and heating systems must be completed before the start of the heating season.

It was emphasized at the meeting that much difficult work lies ahead. Its specific directions were outlined by the September (1988) Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. Now, the main thing is to get down to business seriously. Deeds and deeds alone will now be the main criterion in evaluating the work of each party committee, each communist.

First Secretary S.G. Arutyunyan gave concluding remarks at the meeting.

ArSSR: Armenians from AzSSR Replace Azerbaijanis in Masisskiy Rayon

*18300101b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
12 Oct 88 p 4*

[Article by R. Meliksetyan, KOMMUNIST special correspondent: "Masis Meetings"]

[Text] On the day I was going to Masis, in Yerevan the atmosphere was extremely tense, as it always is these weeks. The theater square was buzzing and seething with a rotation of people since early morning. The shops of many enterprises were empty, and people were clustered at city bus stops waiting for the infrequent buses and trolley buses.

But literally a 5-minute drive from the capital, in the closest rural area to it, there was complete calm, an everyday life of work. All the enterprises, institutions and organizations were operating in their usual rhythm; construction and railroad workers, field and farm laborers were doing their job. It was as if the events of the recent months had not affected the settlement with a population of 20,000 and the surrounding villages. It was as if the echoes of the events in Nagornyy Karabakh and the Sumgait tragedy had not been heard here last summer with such force and dramatism...

The first question which I asked at the party raykom, naturally, concerned the situation in the rayon.

"It's normal," laconically answered First Secretary A. Arutyunyan.

During the next half hour, this word was heard five more times from the mouth of Albert Vaginakovich [Arutyunyan]—at each ring of the direct Yerevan telephones. After such an opening remark to one person he was talking to, he said that the farmers of Masis had already completed sowing of rape, Persian clover and grain crops, invited another to the opening of the rayon's first discotheque, and with a third talked about the question of increasing funds for retail sale of construction materials to the population. In short, he talked about the usual troubles, concerns and problems.

But it was enough for me to improve the moment for the next question, when a shadow of fatigue and uneasiness

came over the secretary's face, and it became clear: The situation in Masis could be considered only relatively normal.

The first exchange was legalized in the rayon notary office on 28 April of this year—a mechanic of the Masis Irrigation Systems Administration, Magomet Nasirov, exchanged an apartment with Baku resident Vaginak Arakelyan. In the following 5 months, 1,700 Azerbaijani families who had made an exchange or purchase and sale with Armenians living in Azerbaijan left the rayon, and 769 families arrived from Baku, 326 from Mingechar, 157 from Sumgait, 37 from Kirovabad, and the rest from Shamkhor, Khanlar, Fizula...

I caught myself thinking that with each figure cited by the secretary, the "events in and around Nagornyy Karabakh," which firmly became a part of our consciousness in those memorable days in February, are acquiring a new meaning and nuance. The population migration and the wide range of social and economic problems resulting from it are perhaps not seen on such a scale and with such acuteness in any other rayon in our republic as in Masis. The rayon's population is almost unchanged—68,000. But more than 15 percent are new residents—instead of farmers, typically urban families who have never worked the land have settled in many of the villages. In the rayon's agro-industrial sector, where about 5,300 people were working, there is now a manpower shortage of 1,800. The population has left, leaving the young crops and gardens unattended and the crop unharvested. The point is, Masis is one of the main suppliers of agricultural products for Yerevan!...

"Not long ago, the Azerbaijan SSR minister of justice, Comrade Orudzhev, came to us with a request to halt apartment exchanges," Arutyunyan continued. "But when we asked what would motivate the native Baku residents, having left their comfortable homes with all the amenities and having been refused work in their specialty, to pick up and leave and settle down in the rural area, he did not answer..."

After interrupting the conversation with the secretary, I decided to travel through the rayon and try to find an answer to this question in talks with the new and native residents and with leaders at various levels. My first meeting was at the Sayat-Nova Sovkhoz. The village was an international one, but now only several of the 250 Azerbaijani families remained here. Living in the homes belonging to those who had departed were Armenians who had arrived from Azerbaijan—mainly shoemakers, barbers, cabinet makers, and painters. But a school director, an economist, and even a graduate of an aviation institute are among them. While the sovkhoz director, Arutyun Mirzoyan, was telling all this, a married couple and a middle-age man entered the office.

"And here are our new residents, I hope you will be kind and gracious," the director introduced them. He then began asking how they were getting settled in and what

they planned to do. From their confused look, unsure answers, and embarrassed smile, I got the feeling that these people had still not adapted to the new environment and did not have a good idea how their future would shape up. They were sure of only one thing—that their decision to move to Armenia had been a correct one.

"You are a finance worker, your husband is a shoemaker, and your are in school," I said to the women. "Will you be able to take part in agricultural work and get used to an unfamiliar job? Possibly you should have waited for a more appropriate exchange?"

"In Baku we thought about just one thing—leaving as soon as possible. You had to experience it in order to understand us. To wait with trepidation until your tenth-grade daughter returned from school each day. To open the mailbox expecting another "message" with cursing, threats, and demands that you go back where you came from. To go out on the street in constant fear that you will receive catcalls and be insulted. No, regardless of how our destiny shapes up here, it will not be any worse than there."

Her fellow countryman, a top-ranked barber who had left a multiroom apartment in Baku and moved with his large family into a quite modest rural home, said roughly the same thing.

True, there were also people who showed up in Sayat-Nova and immediately adapted to sovkhoz work. The director named them with satisfaction: workers Vardan Bagdasaryan and Tamara Mezhlumyan, brigade leader Tolik Gevorkyan, and others who came from agricultural regions of Azerbaijan. But on the whole, it was an unfavorable picture—before there were 240 workers on the farm, and now only 80. Who is going to cultivate the 400 hectares of land and take care of the 600 head of cattle and hogs?

I now began to understand the raykom secretary's sad humor. He somehow realized that every resident of the rayon would have to shave twice a day in order to provide work for all the barbers who had arrived. There were 20 hairdressers! At the rayon employment bureau it was reported that hundreds of people had already requested assistance in finding work. Among them were engineers, manufacturing engineers, chemists, pharmacists, and lawyers.

The process of getting accustomed to the new environment will not be a simple one for the new settlers, no it will not be simple. There is no denying it, the local authorities and leadership bodies of the republic must do much here. Much quite a bit also depends on the native population and public opinion. A sensitive, attentive attitude towards the people who have found themselves in a difficult situation, the ability to waive one's own personal interests to some degree in their favor, a willingness to support them in word and deed—these qualities, inculcated in our people by their grim historical destinies, are being put to another serious test today.

It may seem to some that the author is forcing an open door. You see, it is precisely these nationality character traits which make hundreds, if not thousands, of people gather each evening at the Theater Square; they set in motion the thoughts and actions of people of various ages, professions, and social strata participating in rallies, demonstrations, and hunger strikes. But let us face the truth, there are other facts after all.

During the summer VUZ entrance exams at the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, I repeatedly heard claims by those lodging complaints that, supposedly, applicants from Nagornyy Karabakh were accepted into the institute, but that person's son or daughter was left "overboard." There were others, too. It was enough in one rayon of Armenia that jobs were found for several medical workers who were refugees from Sumgait, while local colleagues standing in line raised a scandal.

Returning to the main theme of the conversation, I will say that there are not yet grounds to reproach the residents of Masis for a lack of goodwill, warmth, and cordiality towards the newcomers. We would hope that there will not be either.

A lot of problems have arisen in the area of public education. The number of Armenian schoolchildren has increased by 2,000, the vast majority of whom do not speak the native language at all. It is hard to comprehend without emotion the episode which took place the other day at one of the schools in the rayon center. The seventh grade class, made up of 20 newly arrived students, was asked who could write their name in Armenian. Only one girl was able to do this. Not a single one of the students could say who created the Armenian alphabet.

It is not a fault but a misfortune of these teenagers, deprived of a high understanding of their own nationality, its history, culture, and literature. We will not talk here about how much this situation is tied to our party's nationality policy and will not look for the underlying causes and reasons for it. The main thing now is to help the kids make up for what they have missed and ensure continuity of their education.

In Masis, where up to now there has been one Russian school in operation, the need has arisen to organize instruction in Russian language for more than 1,300 children as soon as possible. More than 100 teachers of various specialties also arrived with them, who have also been teaching in the Russian language.

"More than half of them are already working, and the rest will be found jobs at the first opportunity," says Berik Gukasyan, head of the Masis Rayon Department of Public Education. "As far as the children are concerned, we will 'reorient' the the youngsters up to the fourth grade in Armenian schools, and Russian departments have been opened for the older students in the existing schools.

"The rayon party committee is giving us valuable support and assistance. At its call, all party, soviet and economic activists of Masis are getting involved in working with the children who have arrived. They are taking part in teaching the schoolchildren their native language and familiarizing them with the literature, history, and geography of our people and the economy of the republic."

Yes, to the credit of the Masis comrades and all communists of the rayon, it must be said that they did not lose their head in this situation, but did everything they could to see that the resettlement process as painless as possible for the economy of the region and did not disrupt implementation of the social development program. Brigades from other villages of the rayon and labor collectives from enterprises and institutions of the rayon center were sent to the abandoned agricultural lands of the Azerbaijan sovkhozes. Many Yerevan collectives also came to help during the harvest. Thanks to all this, the people of Masis overfulfilled the annual plans for the sale of potatoes, fruit, meat, and grain to the state and established a good supply of feed.

In implementing the social development program planned back last year, water supply lines were brought to 8 villages of the rayon or water supply was improved, and street lights were installed in 15 villages. Stores for newlyweds and war veterans were opened in the rayon center, and five new trade installations were opened in other localities. A House of Everyday Life, two nurseries, and a school building were turned over for operation. Construction of a sports complex has begun...

In writing down these facts, I could not help comparing them to the events in the life of the rayon which echoed throughout the republic and beyond its borders and attracted the attention of the public at large to Masis. After all, there were fires and gun shots here; there were fights between the Armenians and Azerbaijanis; there were sleepless nights full of anxiety and nervousness and with bonfires, military patrols, and watches. Finally, there was the mass poisoning of workers at the local branch of the Garpun Production Association, most of the victims of which have not yet recovered and returned to work!

This report on the present-day Masis and the problems with which the rayon lives today would not be complete without talking about all the difficult pages of its recent past and without trying to delve deeply into the roots of the events. I had a conversation about that with one of the most authoritative people in the rayon—Kolya Gevorkyan, deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR, holder of the orders of Lenin, October Revolution and Labor Red Banner, and winner of the Republic State Prize. I met with the distinguished machine operator, who for many years now has led the irrigation brigade of the Masisskiy Rayon Agro-Industrial Association, right in the field.

"I do not approve of strikes. I also do not think that a special session of the Supreme Soviet will help solve the problems that have built up," he said, cutting like a knife. "I stated this frankly in my worker opinion not only to a group of young people who had come to me as the deputy from Yerevan, but also to my constituents. But on many other issues I am fully behind the participants in the Yerevan rallies.

"I am firmly convinced, for example, that much of what has happened in our rayon might not have happened if it were not for Sumgait, or at least if the crimes that took place there would have been brought to light and punished in a timely manner. The legitimate dissatisfaction of our population is also caused by the lack of help from the investigative bodies in the matter of discovering the poisoning of our women. It is difficult to believe that Soviet criminalistics, armed with all the achievements of modern scientific and technical thought, came to a dead end in this case."

"Your colleagues, journalists, also played no small role in charging the situation with their frequently biased information, distortion of and silence about the facts, and incorrect interpretation of the situation. Please, tell me, for example, how much the TV program "Vremya" helped to calm the fears of personnel when it showed a woman smiling with satisfaction as she handed out candy to Azerbaijanis after the July session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet? Or when a just demand of an entire people, with persistence and worthy of better use, is characterized as extremist, nationalistic attacks?

"By nature, I am a staunch internationalist. I am married to a Russian woman and infinitely love and respect this great nation which has played an exceptional role in the destiny of my people. And I am deeply confident that the overwhelming majority of my fellow countrymen share these feelings. Moreover, it is disappointing that individual irresponsible persons permit themselves to make anti-Soviet and anti-Russian statements which later are bunched together on the pages of the union press."

Before leaving Masis, I again dropped in at the party raykom. Despite the late hour, almost all the staff workers were at their places. I shared my impressions with them and was interested in how they were resolving the problems associated with migration. Albert Vaginakovitch was optimistic.

"I think the most difficult time is behind us. The main thing now is to help the people become acclimatized more quickly, heal emotional trauma, and begin work. We have one desire on this account—it should be written about in the newspaper. In Yerevan and other cities of the republic there are quite a few former rural inhabitants who, although they live in the city, reach out for the land and would like to train for a new profession. We would gladly accept all of them in our rayon and help them

exchange apartments with those migrants from Azerbaijan who would like to live in the city. Putting it in chess terms, this castling, I think, would serve the interests of each and everyone.

"Let the article in your newspaper be a sort of invitation to Masis."

Armenian CP Buro Scores Talinskiy Rayon Party Officials

Personnel Changes Announced

18300102 *Yerevan KOMMUNIST* in Russian 14 Oct 88
p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Armenian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The Armenian CP Central Committee buro, at a meeting on 13 October, took up the question of "the Political Situation and Psychological State of Morale of the Party Organization in Talinskiy Rayon."

C. G. Manukyan, party first secretary of Talinskiy Rayon, received a severe reprimand with entry in his registration card for gross violations of party principles in the selection of skilled personnel; for a substantial slackening in the ideological and moral indoctrination of the workers; for unsatisfactory leadership in the restructuring of party and political activities; and for serious deficiencies in social and economic development, leading to unhealthy morale and psychological consequences in the rayon. His continued tenure as first secretary was deemed inappropriate. The buro also severely reprimanded G. S. Kirakosyan, chairman of the ispolkom of the Talinskiy Rayon Soviet of Peoples' Deputies.

The buro relieved S. A. Osipyan of his duties as ArSSR procurator, and passed a resolution to place him at the disposition of the ArSSR Council of Ministers; it also relieved A. S. Dadayan of his duties as ArSSR Minister of Justice with retirement on a pension; and relieved A. B. Mirsoyan of his duties as ArSSR Minister of Communications with retirement on a pension.

The Armenian CP Central Committee buro discussed other matters concerning organizational and political activities of party organs in light of requirements set by the September (1988) Armenian CP Central Committee plenum. Further details of the buro meeting will be published in the press.

Shortcomings Detailed; ArSSR Economy Faulted

18300102 *Yerevan KOMMUNIST* in Russian 16 Oct 88
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[Unattributed report: "In the Armenian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The Armenian CP Central Committee buro held a meeting.

The buro approved the results of a trip by First Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee S. G. Arutyunyan to the Nagorno-Karabakh AO and his meetings with A. Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijani CP Central Committee. The meetings were participated in by A. I. Volskiy, representing the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet, and G. A. Pogasyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom.

The buro discussed implementation of proposals and response to criticism at the September (1988) plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee. A reviewing procedure was established. It was decided to refer proposals and critical comments voiced by plenum participants to the departments of the Central Committee, to party gorkoms and raykoms, and to organs of the party press for review and appropriate action. Proposals and comments concerning the competence of state organs are to be submitted for review to the ArSSR Council of Ministers. They will also be sent to ArSSR Committee of People's Control for monitoring the review process and implementation of suggestions and critical advice by the appropriate ministries and departments.

The buro reviewed the political situation and psychological state of morale in the Talinskiy Rayon party organization. It recognized that the political and organizational activity of the Talinskiy Rayon party committee (Comrade S. Manukyan, first secretary) does not measure up to the demands of the 27th Party Congress and successive plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

The cadres of skilled workers and most active members of the party and soviets have failed to realize the dimensions and specifics of the restructuring process; they are not mastering the political work methods; they are not aware of the necessity of addressing the needs and concerns of the workers. The struggle of the primary party organizations to instill in party members honest and honorable characters has slackened considerably. Within the rayon such contradictory characteristics of communist morale as a consumer attitude towards labor and society, money-grubbing, and acquisitive behavior have become commonplace, and the faith of a number of the workers in the vital principle of social justice has been undermined.

The party raykom has not renounced authoritarian administrative methods and duplication of effort by soviet and economic organs. Its buro is failing to monitor important matters pertaining to the operations of the primary party organizations, the implementation of decisions, and the strengthening of party influence over vital aspects of restructuring. The opinions of the labor collectives in working out political and administrative decisions are being ignored. The role of the raykom as an organ of collective leadership is being reduced, and the first secretary is allowing the buro to act in place of it. Unhealthy attitudes have developed on the raykom staffs, having a counterproductive effect on their activities and authority.

The raykom buro and Comrade S. Manukyan personally are not critically evaluating the state of affairs in the rayon, and they are departing from the practice of thoroughly discussing in public unresolved issues of social and economic development.

The grossest kind of mistakes and errors have been committed in the selection, placement, and training of skilled workers, and cases of misusing one's official position and improper behavior during off-duty hours have become possible because of inadequate demands made of them.

The food problem in the rayon is being dealt with extremely slowly, and a lack of energy has been shown in economic reform and the task of hastening the transformation of the countryside. Here there are mounting social as well as production problems. In agriculture there is a serious lag behind assigned goals. Economic indicators have considerably worsened, and with them the financial situations of a majority of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

During the current Five-Year Plan there have been chronic shortages in capital investments and construction and assembly operations, and repeated failures to fulfill plans for the introduction of housing. The completion of schools and projects for social and cultural purposes has been markedly below established norms. The scale of services available to the population is half of that for the republic as a whole.

The failures of the Talinskiy party raykom in managing the restructuring process have come about as a result of poor judgment on the part of the buro—and First Secretary S. Manukyan personally—with respect to factors of ideology, morality, and psychological morale together with lowered demands of the skilled workers.

All of this has brought about a tense psychological state of morale in the rayon, which has had a chilling effect upon the communists and workers' collectives, delaying the fulfillment of assigned tasks. Comrade S. Manukyan did not set a proper example in restructuring and renewal of activity. Moreover, he committed indiscretions in his personal conduct. Gross violations of labor and land legislation were committed in the rayon.

The Armenian CP Central Committee gave the first secretary of the Talinskiy Rayon party committee, Comrade S. Manukyan, a severe reprimand, with entry in his party registration card, for gross violations of party principles in dealing with cadres of skilled workers; for inadequate leadership in restructuring party political activities; and for serious shortcomings in social and economic development, leading to the creation of unsatisfactory psychological conditions and morale in the republic. His continued tenure in this office was deemed inappropriate.

The chairman of the ispolkom of the Talinskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, Comrade G. Kirakosyan, was severely reprimanded for existing shortcomings and omissions in the social sphere, and for his failure to halt instances of violating established norms for individual housing construction.

In accordance with the requirements of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the July (1988) CPSU Central Committee plenum, and the Armenian CP Central Committee plenum, the Armenian CP Central Committee buro was instructed to consider thoroughly mounting problems in the activities of the rayon party organization, together with shortcomings and omissions in guiding the restructuring process. They were further instructed to plan and implement practical measures for fundamentally improving the style and methods of political and organizational activities; for developing democracy and glasnost; for strengthening party and state discipline; for improving the process of the selection, placement, and training of skilled workers; for assuring that communists have a vanguard role; and for invigorating the human element.

There was discussion at the meeting of the progress made in fulfilling plans for the construction of processing branches and storage facilities of the republic State Agricultural Committee. It was noted that the leaders of the State Agricultural Committee, Armagrostroy, and the former Ministry of Construction had not drawn the necessary conclusions from the earlier adopted resolutions of the Armenian CP Central Committee with regard to accelerating development of the processing industry and storage facilities; they had not mobilized the labor collectives in such a way as to fulfill unconditionally plan assignments for their construction, reconstruction, and technical reequipping; and they had shown a lack of principle and of responsibility in attempting to deal with vital political tasks. As a result the rate of construction and rise in industrial capacity provided for in the 12th Five-Year Plan had not been maintained.

The buro condemned the irresponsible attitude of the leaders of Gosagroprom and Gosstroy to the construction and introduction of processing branches and storage facilities. It demanded that Comrade V. Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the ArSSR Council of Ministers and chairman of Gosagroprom, and Comrade V. Artsruni, deputy chairman of the ArSSR Council of Ministers and chairman of Gosstroy, devise and implement effective measures assuring the unconditional fulfillment of plans for the construction and placement into operation of the projects and facilities as scheduled. A system of strict quality control is to be set up to monitor construction and assembly operations and assure an uninterrupted supply of materials and equipment for project and construction sites.

The attention of party committee first secretaries of Abovianskiy Rayon (Comrade G. Avakyan), Nairiyskiy Rayon (Comrade A. Mardoyan), Kafanskiy Rayon

(Comrade R. Gonyan), Oktemberianskiy Rayon (Comrade M. Vardanyan), and Gorioskiy Rayon (Comrade R. Aleksanyan) was called to serious shortcomings in the management of construction projects for the processing industry and storage facilities. The buro demanded that they undertake exhaustive measures to call attention to problems of equipping these projects and to raising the level of responsibility on the part of management leaders, party organizations attached to the processing industry enterprises, and contract organizations for the strict observance of state and plan discipline.

The buro discussed the possibility of supplementary measures to regulate the relatively small amount of experience in developing cooperative activities within the republic has resulted in a number of errors and deficiencies. Problems related to the provision of material and technical resources and raw materials by the collectives established are still not being dealt with properly. There have been instances of bank funds used not to organize production or to provide services but for personal ends. The cooperatives are not properly oriented to the use of raw materials received through subsidiary farming, acquired at kolkhoz markets or from the population.

As a result the republic market is not only not relieved of the burden of the deficit, but on the contrary with regard to certain types of products a new kind of deficit has arisen. The development of cooperative activity in the republic is not geared to the interests of the social and economic development of any particular city or region, and this results in justified dissatisfaction among the people.

The buro instructed ispolkoms of city and rayon soviets of people's deputies to orient the cooperatives to using raw materials derived from subsidiary farming, acquired at kolkhoz markets or from the population, and to actively assist in the establishment of cooperatives for the production and sale of agricultural products from privately operated subsidiary farms.

Party gorkoms and raykoms were instructed to establish strict control over measures to regulate food supply cooperatives and individual labor activity; to raise the level of responsibility on the part of leaders of the local soviets of people's deputies and economic organs in the organization and operation of cooperatives in this field; and to take decisive steps to eliminate shortcomings and oversights in this effort.

The State Agro-Industrial Committee, the Ministry of Trade, and Aykoop [not further expanded] are instructed to assure that cooperatives and persons engaged in individual labor activity in the field of food supply and public catering will have the necessary resources made available to them through a network of small retail stores without reducing the supply of these goods to the population.

It was noted that cooperatives and persons engaged in individual labor activities in the field of food supply and public catering can use meat, milk, and products made from these materials which come only from their own production or the purchase of surplus production from the population.

The Ministry of Grain Products was charged with the responsibility of providing for one specialized store in each rayon of Yerevan, and in other republic cities as required, for the sale of flour to the cooperatives.

The Armenian CP Central Committee buro approved a draft decree of the ArSSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for Further Improvement in Protecting the Health of the People in the ArSSR and Strengthening the Material and Technical Basis of Public Health in the Republic, in Accordance With 'The Guidelines for Protecting the People's Health and for the Restructuring of Public Health in the USSR in the 12th Five-Year Plan and to the year 2000.'"

To protect and improve the health of the people of the republic, a resolution was adopted providing for large-scale measures of preventive medicine; for the full and complete satisfaction of the needs of the people for highly qualified medical care and pharmaceutical assistance; for improving the professional training of medical personnel and the level of their performance; for developing the material and technical supply base; and for speeding the introduction of scientific and technical progress in public health institutions.

The buro was informed of the progress of reports and elections in the primary party organizations. It was noted that under the influence of decisions made by the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the July (1988) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and the September (1988) plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee, the meetings were being conducted basically in a business-like, organized way with an open exchange of opinions in an atmosphere of exactitude and demandingness, and with a high level of activity by the communists. Party committees should carefully analyze and reach general conclusions with regard to the reports and elections meetings in party groups, in shop trade-union and primary party organizations, revealing the situation in each organization so as to exclude existing shortcomings in the future conduct of these meetings.

The reports and elections process should serve to strengthen the capabilities of party organizations and strengthen their ties with the masses, while promoting the development of criticism and self-criticism with the observance of Leninist principles of party life.

The Central Committee buro approved the basic content of a draft resolution on improving the operations of the ArSSR Council of Ministers and its administrative structure.

It reviewed and approved in principle plans for the management of the ArSSR ministries of public health, culture, and housing and municipal services, as well as the administrative structure for management of the Ministry of Social Security. It also approved the general plans for the administration of Gosnab; Goskomizdat; the State Committee for Services to the Population; Goskomspor; the Main Administrative Archives; the Main Administration for the Protection and Use of Cultural and Historical Monuments; the organizational structure of the State Committee for Statistics and the Main Administration for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press of the ArSSR Council of Ministers; and the staffing for the continuous representation of the ArSSR Council of Ministers at the USSR Council of Ministers.

In addition, the meeting addressed other matters regarding the social, economic and cultural life of the republic.

Roundtable Denies Need For, Feasibility of Bilingualism

18300064 Moscow *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA* in Russian 21 Sep 88 p 3

[Roundtable discussion conducted by Yu. Bugelskiy: "Language: The Beginning of All Beginnings; National-International: Dialectics of Unity." First paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The participants in the discussion were: Tengiz BUACHIDZE, writer, chairman of the Georgian Culture Fund, and doctor of philological sciences (Tbilisi); Vronispavas KUZMITSKAS, section head of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law, doctor of philosophical sciences (Vilnius); Mark DYACHKOV, doctor of philological sciences (Moscow).

I.

[Tengiz Buachidze] So, what are the questions that we—philosophers, linguists and writers, representatives of various nationalities—are concerned with in the sphere of interethnic relations, and particularly in the sphere of culture? As far as I understand, *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA* has invited us here to exchange our opinions on this subject.

I will begin with the fact that we in Georgia are very worried by our closest neighbors—the Armenians and Azerbaijanis, by the events in Nagorniy Karabakh and around it, by this entire fervor of passions. The problem is extremely complex. It is the result of believing for many years that we cannot have any national-territorial differences, that everything here has been resolved and is fine...

[Bronislavas Kuzmitskas] Yes, the events associated with Nagorniy Karabakh were unexpected, and it is natural that they evoked general alarm and concern...

[T. B.] Well, they were not all that unexpected, at least not for those who were even slightly acquainted with the history of the question.

[B. K.] I would like to say that we in the Baltic region do not and cannot have anything like it. We are worried by other questions at the present time. We read in the constitutions, the all-union and republic constitutions, that each union republic, for example Lithuania, is a sovereign Soviet socialist state. Without delving into a theoretical discussion, let us clarify the essence of the matter...

[T. B.] This has long ago been clarified...

[B. K.] In deed, unfortunately, the sovereignty of the union republics is in many ways not realized. If, for example, we have to go to Moscow to get permission to increase the volume of a journal by one page, if we cannot even resolve such a question independently... And what about questions of public education. For example, we cannot, or at least up until now we could not, decide for ourselves how many hours of the school instructional program should be allocated to our native language and literature... What kind of sovereignty is this? And isn't the situation in Georgia the same?

[T. B.] Unfortunately, it is. It is the same everywhere. Some time ago I served as the republic's minister of culture. Why, I couldn't even hire a cleaning woman without approval "from above".

[B. K.] And what about management and economic questions? Here we often simply do not have the right to vote. The union ministries, which are appropriately called "all-powerful empires" by the press, act in such a way on the territories of the republics as if they do not care about the opinion of the republic ministries, nor about the interests of the local population.

Since we are as yet unable to regulate the migration processes, the question of social and cultural integration of the people who have come to their new place of residence and to conditions which are new to them becomes very acute. Such a problem exists practically in the entire world, and in many countries it is solved on a professional level. Yet in our country, unfortunately, it is not even seriously formulated. We limit ourselves strictly to the productive aspect. Let us say, for example, that representatives of 17 nationalities work at a new plant. They work well, and fulfill the plan—and thank God.

However, with the current increased complexity of society, the economic and productive indices of human activity are not everything. They merely represent one aspect. How does adaptation of people under new social-cultural conditions occur? How do the conditions themselves change? We do not know any of this. Yet weak social integration, when a person who comes to another republic does not feel at home, is fraught with the

emergence of asocial and destructive behavior. A rather large category of migrating people has arisen. In essence, they do not care where they live—so long as they make more money, their cultural demands are the most minimal.

Evidently, certain measures must be taken here. If a person has come to another republic and intends to live there, shouldn't he be interested in becoming acquainted with its culture, history, traditions of the native population, and finally, in learning the language? In other words, in adapting himself in a cultural sense?...

[Mark Dyachkov] Yes, but the real situation does not always facilitate such adaptation.

[T. B.] What do you mean?

[M. D.] I have long been working on this problem. Several years ago I conducted a study in Riga. I took the following situation: A person comes to Latvia. He is an enthusiast and wants to learn Latvian. What possibilities does he have for doing so? As it turned out, in Riga these possibilities are close to zero. There were only some courses offered, I believe, at the trade union House of Culture, which annually accepted... 40 people! There are almost no instructional materials... Can we say that things are any better in our union republics today? Hardly. Last summer I was browsing through the bookstores of Baku in search of an Azerbaijani language self-instruction manual. Why, the bookstore clerks looked at me as if I had just fallen from the moon... Yet at one time, in the 20's and 30's, serious linguistic and pedagogical studies were performed, specifically by Ye. D. Polivanov. However, his works today are a bibliographical rarity...

Moreover, the residents of non-native nationality in the republics are not being encouraged to study the local language. That is the case, for example, in Latvia. A recent Latvian television broadcast stated that the local residents of non-native nationality are not informed about what is written in the Latvian press. More should be translated into Russian, they said. There was not a single word said about the fact that the permanent residents should also study Latvian. Yet at one time all Russians who were permanent residents of Latvia spoke fluent Latvian!

[B. K.] The constitutions of the union republics state that their citizens are also citizens of the USSR. We know what the latter means. But what does it mean to be a citizen of a union republic? The status of this citizenship is not specified or defined. Evidently, it must mean that the citizen has some responsibilities, as well as some rights, in regard to the given republic.

I believe that under conditions of perestroika and glasnost we should raise and resolve such questions at the level of the Supreme Soviets, and introduce appropriate corrections into the constitutions of the union republics.

[T. B.] Last summer we at the Georgian Union of Writers were composing directions for our delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Unfortunately, there were few cultural leaders among them. Most of them, as usual, were "official persons," raykom secretaries, etc. Thus, I would like to direct your attention to what we felt should be discussed at the conference. As to how this relates to "cultural" questions—you may judge for yourselves.

First of all, there is the changeover of all republics to cost accounting. We must, of course, make it so that, along with the all-state accounting of needs, each republic would account primarily for its own economic and cost-accounting needs and capacities.

Secondly, we need legislation which would prohibit the union departments from expanding or reducing, increasing or cutting back the number of its enterprises on republic territory without the approval of the republic's Council of Ministers.

Thirdly, we must somehow regulate the processes of migration, for example, by means of inter-republic agreements.

Fourthly, we must facilitate in every way possible the development of the national culture and language in the republic. Here little help is provided by the Days and Decades for which special programs are prepared and which have little to do with the real state of affairs in the culture of a given republic.

Fifth, it would not be a bad idea for the representatives of the higher and mid-level management organs, regardless of nationality, to speak in the native language of the given republic. After all, sometimes things get confusing. For example, peasants come to see a respected official and need a translator to understand each other! Evidently, we must everywhere create the necessary conditions (courses, clubs, self-instruction manuals...) so that each person could master the native language of the republic, get acquainted with its history, its old and new culture to one degree or another...

It is these questions (and many others like them) that concern our creative intelligentsia. For the sake of fairness we must note that some of these were discussed at the conference.

And what else? A lot. For example, some people believe that we must finally abolish the VAK. Today a single rule is in effect: all dissertations must be submitted in Russian. Yet how can you translate into Russian a dissertation on the peculiarities of the ancient Georgian language, for example? For this in some cases it is necessary to perform additional work which is almost equal to the work done on the dissertation itself. Isn't it enough for the dissertation abstract to be in Russian? At least candidate's works must be given final approval in the

republic specialized scientific councils themselves. As it is, the situation is ridiculous... Special translation cooperatives are organized, and some people make money on this...

In general I agree with Kuzmitskas. We must everywhere and in everything return to the Leninist concept of the principle of sovereignty of the fraternal republics. We must work out a single status of republic citizenship.

People are people. We are all alike in basic ways. Yet there are some shadings and nuances which make you Russian, you Lithuanian, and me—Georgian. Sometimes these shadings are slight, almost indiscernible. Nevertheless, we cannot ignore them.

Our languages are a form of existence of our cultures, of retention and development of our national traditions. Remember this thought of the poet: if tomorrow my language dies—then better let me die today! How true this is! I believe we all agree on this.

So, as for language. I simply cannot agree with the person who says: he has two native languages. And such a formula is prevalent! This is anti-scientific and foolish. There can be bilingualism and trilingualism... But there can only be one native language. It cannot be otherwise!

Recently we have spoken much about the need for protecting national languages and national cultures. I might add, isn't the Russian language and Russian culture also national, and don't they need to be protected?

[M. D.] And how!... After all, local traditions and language are not respected by those who do not respect their own traditions and language.

II.

[B. K.] Bilingualism, which we broadly propagandize and introduce in the system of education, is not substantiated either psychologically, linguistically, or culturally, it seems. Many aspects of this problem have been illuminated in an argumented manner in the article by Mati Khinta in his fifth book, "Friendship of Peoples." Without a doubt, one must know Russian, as well as the other languages. Yet the question is when and how to begin instruction. When instruction in Russian as a second language is begun for children practically from nursery school age, problems may arise which are difficult and sometimes impossible to overcome. After all, in childhood the world is understood through assimilation of language. The little individual is included into a certain culture. And the system of "language-world" which is just beginning to form is disrupted by another linguistic system being superimposed onto it...

[M. D.] The plan for bilingualism contains many questions which require further development. However, in my opinion, from a scientific standpoint it would be unjustified to recommend the so-called "unilateral bilingualism" for practical application.

[B. K.] In the literatures of various peoples there have been and are bilingual and even trilingual writers. However, one language evidently is the primary one in their works. There are also bilingual and trilingual national literatures (Belgian, Swiss...) which testify to the fact that the people themselves are heterogeneous in their language. However, the rank-and-file representative generally has one primary native language. We, however, are propagandizing the notion of bilingualism as such a condition where entire nations would have two native languages from the very beginning—the so-called national-Russian bilingualism.

In Lithuania, as in the other republics, there are writers who write in Russian, but there is no phenomenon which we could call Russian-language Lithuanian literature. The works of these writers, as far as I know, have little in common with the traditions of Lithuanian and may be wholly related to Russian culture. If we recall our famous symbolist poet Yu. Baltrushaytis, who wrote in Russian in the first half of his creative life and in Lithuanian in the second, then half of his legacy relates to Russian literature, and half—to Lithuanian.

[M. D.] A Russian journal which is published in the republic, for example, LITVA LITERATURNAYA,—is it of interest to you as a Lithuanian reader? For whom is this journal intended, anyway?

[B. K.] LITVA LITERATURNAYA, in my opinion, is engaged primarily in presenting Lithuanian literature and other spheres of culture to the all-union reader. And, at the risk of using the term which has become established, this is a "facade culture," i.e., a culture with the tinge of officialdom. New phenomena which are interesting and promising are as yet weakly reflected in the journal.

[M. D.] In discussing our union interethnic linguistic problems, we, unfortunately, often strive to invent the bicycle, as they say. We view these problems in isolation from world interethnic problems and the experience of solving them. Yet there are many apparent parallels here... After all, such studies on the development and functioning of different languages in multi-national countries are broadly conducted within the framework of UNESCO. You asked, Tengiz Pavlovich, what would happen if non-Russian writers begin writing in Russian? I personally am not frightened by this danger.

Let us take the English language, for example. Its national variants are officially recognized throughout the world. Not to mention American English, there are, for example, West African standard English or, let us say, Pacific Ocean standard English. These do not threaten

English in any way. However, the late F. P. Filin flatly refused to recognize national variants of the Russian language in the Soviet Union...

[T. B.] Nevertheless, we do not live on different continents, but in the same country! In my opinion, the literary Russian language opposes variants... Writership is a terrible joke! You know, a writer does not write in the language. He creates it! I, a Georgian writer, cannot create the Russian language in my books. How I struggled when I myself translated my novel "Doroga v detstvo" (Road to Childhood)!... I can do anything I want with a Georgian work. I can build my world, destroy it, and build it again. But with Russian—no, I cannot do this...

[M. D.] I understand. Yet there is English language literature in the African countries. It possesses a number of specific peculiarities. Yet no one would ever dream of considering it English literature...

Now, in regard to what Kuzmitskas said: bilingualism in the sphere of education. This question is also current on a world scale. After all, there are special UNESCO programs, which, by the way, we have accepted, and which state that the initial period of a child's education should most expediently be conducted in his native language. However, the fact of the matter is—and here I would like to argue with you, Tengiz Pavlovich—that under certain conditions the existence of two native languages is nevertheless possible. Also, instruction may be conducted in either of them. Of course, this is true only when the presence of two native languages is precisely registered.

Today these questions attract general attention and are heatedly discussed. Yet, like all other questions associated with linguistic policy, they require strict linguistic substantiation.

Some representatives of the intelligentsia in the Central Asian republics, for example, persistently complain that their languages were at one time changed over from Arabic graphics to Cyrillic—thereby undermining the roots of their national culture. To me, this seems unsubstantiated. There are only a few countries remaining in the world which use Arabic graphics while not using the Arabic language—Iran and Pakistan... Why would our republics want to emulate them?

The case is similar with Moldavia. There the intelligentsia and the writers are currently discussing the transition from Cyrillic to the Latin alphabet. This is a language of the Romance group, they say, and the Latin alphabet is more suitable to it. But here is an interesting fact. Recently I asked one of my Moldavian friends whether the Orthodox services in Moldavian churches were conducted in Moldavian. Of course, he answered. But what books do they use, I asked? Why, he said: those same old books, the pre-revolutionary ones. They are written in Cyrillic... There you have your priorities! As it

turns out, the Moldavians have received their literacy in Cyrillic! And, although I suspect that they will argue with me on this point too, I believe that this question also requires thorough linguistic study and substantiation.

It is necessary to study all this more scientifically and in greater detail, if only to clearly delineate the speculative and demagogic demands from the really serious problems of functioning of the languages of USSR peoples. Yet unfortunately, the interaction between is not studied anywhere on a serious level. And it is not only between the individual languages, but in the full volume.

There exists a world problem of linguistic contacts. Whether we like it or not, all the contacting languages interact with each other and affect each other. However, they should not suppress each other in a harmonically developing society. The role of linguistics is to determine when such interaction is productive, and when it is simply pollution of one language with elements of another.

III.

[B. K.] Our national cultures are our riches. What processes are currently taking place within them? Everywhere we note the growth of national self-consciousness, and in connection with this the need arises for re-interpretation of certain concepts, certain positions which have stood up for many years.

There comes a moment in the development of society and culture, as in the life of a person, when we must stop and think what is what, what we have achieved, and where we are going. Today we are experiencing a time which is favorable for such a re-interpretation. We must cast a single glance over all the spheres of national culture, see how it is related to the life of the nation, and determine what its ideological principles are.

Nationality of culture—what does it consist of? Georgian, Russian, Lithuanian?... In my opinion, culture is truly national to that degree to which it reflects the social and historical experience of the people. Thus, nationality is deeply ingrained in the very content of culture, and specifically in literature. This is certainly not a formal property. It is specifically by its content that culture may also be non-national and cosmopolitan.

The loss of national content often means also the loss of deeper human content. It is curious that often this occurs parallel with the growth of professional and external skill, which is combined with the indifference of the artist to deep-seated human values. External professionalism is combined, we might say, with some internal spiritual dilettantism and incompetency. This is primarily expressed in the inability of authors to express the internal life of the individual. It is depicted somewhere on the level of psychological reflection of the individual. Sometimes this is done wholly within the channel of "world standards"—"stream of consciousness,"

"internal monologue," etc. However, in essence this is merely helpless empiricism, the inability of the culture to look into the depths of the human soul, since certain important moral principles are absent. A certain imitation of creativity arises, an imitation of art, a calculating nature in creativity—when the writer does not himself experience that which he relates.

[T. B.] Thus, are we today gradually coming to the idea that the national feature in culture is specifically its content, and not its form, which in principle is universal?... We should not "demonize" art. Nevertheless, strange things do happen in the development of culture. Everything seems to go its own way, all the traditions are carefully preserved... And then—bang! Some "dilettante" bursts on the scene. And it turns out that culture has been enriched by something new and inimitable... There were Ilya Chavchavadze, Akakiy Tseretali, and Vazha Pshavela—and suddenly Galaktion burst in! What Europeanism, what symbolism is this?! Yet it turned out that it was specifically that which was introduced by the genial "dilettante", that was something strictly national, nationally valuable and significant. We call this the phenomenon of the national Genius, which does not alter traditions, but gives them a new and higher quality! And all of us, Georgians, Russians and Lithuanians, await its coming, unhindered by any external conditions.

[B. K.] It is just too bad that this happens once in a century.

[M. D.] And quite unexpectedly!...

History of Veps as Example of Disappearing Small Nationalities

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[Text] How many they are, the small nationalities which inhabit our immense Homeland! To this day there does not even exist an accurate list of these nationalities who do not have their own form of government (oblast, rayon, or republic). A figure of more than 100 has been cited. But the list is "open"... Just as the question is open concerning the future of the cultures of these small nationalities, whose uniqueness requires the special attention of the society and the state. Today, the true scale of the losses in the sphere of these cultures and the need for a strategic plan of action to save them are all too apparent. What follows is the sad history of one of these small nationalities.

Few people are aware of the Veps, although this nationality lives in the center of the Russian North—at the junction of the Karelian ASSR and the Leningrad and Vologda Oblasts. Here for more than 50 years already, the rich culture and the very national uniqueness of this distinctive and talented nation has been destroyed and is perishing. The Vep language—the most ancient of the Baltic-Finnish languages is perishing and the Veps' poetic and musical folklore, which has not been published nor supported by state attention, is drying up and withering.

Meanwhile, for more than two centuries, archeologists' interest in the relics at the X-XIII century Vep burial mounds has not slackened. According to the opinion of the majority of researchers, the Veps had very rich traditions. And the Vep national choir, which was recently on tour in Finland and Norway, was a complete sensation.

So what is it with this "small nationality"?

The whole tribe of Veps is thought to be our forefathers. By the IX century, it occupied Mezhozerye (translator's note: the land between the lakes), which since has become the native region inhabited by the Veps. Later the Slavs began to penetrate into these lands and since that time, the historical destinies of the Russian and Vep nationalities have been inseparably linked. During the 1820's, the Finnish scholars "discovered" the Veps for themselves. And beginning with the 1870's, notes and reviews concerning the Veps from the Russian ethnographers and students of local lore began to appear. One common motif stands out in all of these Russian and Finnish essays: regret caused by the Veps' loss of their former great influence, the descendants of which, turned out to be doomed to antiquity and a poverty-stricken way of life.

How strange it is that the data from the 1897 census of the population in Russia, which discovered that the Veps numbered 25.4 thousand, did not corroborate the scholars' prophecy concerning the doom and the inevitable rapid Russification of the Veps. And by 1926, the first census after the Great October Revolution counted 32.4 thousand Veps. The myth of the northern tribe of "light-brown haired giants" which was dying out was destroyed once and for all.

But here is a paradox of history. On the one hand, the Veps' life removed from the major population centers delayed their socio-economic development. On the other hand, the isolation, to a certain extent, promoted the preservation of the Veps' language and culture and the development of handicrafts and seasonal work. The Veps gained a reputation in the northern territory as skillful blacksmiths, jewelers, potters, and masters at working with stone.

What exactly happened to the Veps after the Great October Revolution? The Veps, like the other national minorities of the country, received considerable assistance. Schools were opened and commercial and medical

services were improved. At the borderline of the 20's-30's, the period of organization according to national-government and languages began. It is true, not a single autonomy was granted to the Veps, however in 1927, the Sheltozero National Rayon was established in the Karelian ASSR and in the Leningrad Oblast in 1931—the Vinnitsa National Rayon.

At the beginning of the 30's, a major event occurred in the humanities: the Vep written language was created. And as early as 1932, instruction of Vep children in the elementary grades began to be conducted in the native language and to prepare teachers a Vep department was opened at the teachers' training school in Lodeynoe Pole. It was precisely during the 30's, that 30 books were published in the Vep language and illiteracy among the Veps was virtually eliminated. At this time the largest number of Veps is also recorded—approximately 35 thousand.

And suddenly, this entire history of the rapid ascent of Vep culture comes to an abrupt end. After some 5-6 years. Already by the end of 1937, teaching in the Vep language was discontinued in the schools. And at the same time a reallocation of the Veps' land took place: the national rayon and the village Soviets in the Leningrad Oblast were abolished and a portion of the territory with a Vep population of approximately 8 thousand people was transferred to the Vologda Oblast. And the Veps were deprived of their national minority status. From this time forward, the leadership of the Leningrad and Vologda Oblasts completely ceased to show an interest in the Veps' national development.

What does the picture of the "country Vepsariya" look like today? Its territory is cut into seven rayons where the Vep village Soviets are remote outposts. Over the last 50 years, the rural population of Veps in the Leningrad Oblast has declined by roughly four times and in the Volgograd Oblast by ten times. The desolation and ruin of many Vep villages have led to the division of the nationality into groups, to the breaking of the bonds between them, and even to the alienation of some of them.

As is the case with other peasants, many Veps moved to the cities and this migration continues. We believe that this migration would not be so intensive, if the Veps had in their traditional dwelling places even a minimum of socio-cultural institutions and other amenities of a normal way of life (in two of the Vep village Soviets there are not even elementary schools). As the workers at the village Soviets told us, many people upon leaving the villages, request that Russian nationality be indicated on their passports. Where does this yearning "to be registered Russians" come from? "It is more becoming to be a Russian"—the young people respond. Or: "the Vep

nationality is not respected" and "the Veps, themselves, are embarrassed by it and ashamed of it". As the saying goes, commentary is superfluous. In our country no one should be ashamed of his nationality or his parentage. The appearance of such tendencies should greatly trouble the society.

And one can really not help but be staggered by the fact that today, if one judges by official statistics, there are practically no Veps in the Leningrad and Volgograd Oblasts. In 1981, the Institute of Languages, Literature, and History of the Karelian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences conducted field research in these regions. And it turned out that: the inhabitants of formerly Vep villages even in the tax books were entered as Russians. And this was allegedly done on the order of "higher agencies" on the grounds that the nationality "Veps" did not appear on the official list.

Nevertheless, during a 1983 survey, 92 percent of the inhabitants called themselves Veps. Alas. Today their total population is approximately 12 thousand people, almost three times less than it was in the middle of the 30's.

The history of the Veps is very revealing. The deprivation of their autonomy, neglect of their language, disregarding their national interests during the changing of administrative borders and economic orientations, and "losing" them on the list of nationalities led to a sharp drop in the prestige of the nationality, which had an immediate effect on the number of Veps. Only in the Karelian republic, where the Veps as the native inhabitants of the territory are given definite attention, is the situation more stable. By the way, in this republic 48 percent of the Veps stated that they would like to choose the Vep nationality for their children, whereas in other areas only 19 percent expressed a similar view. And today more than a third of the inhabitants has "voted" for the study of the Vep language in school. And first and foremost—the young people.

It is gratifying that recently obvious changes regarding the Veps have taken place in the cultural spheres.

Meetings and conferences have already been held concerning the problems of the Veps both in the Leningrad Oblast and in Moscow (in the Foundation of Culture), and on the schedule—a meeting in Petrozavodsk.

However, it is not a time for theories only, but a time to solve in practice such burning issues as the construction of roads, the restoration of the Vep written language, and the establishment of an autonomous okrug. It is time to include the Veps among the northern nationalities and to create a complex program of development for the entire Vep region. It is time to return dignity to a small nationality.